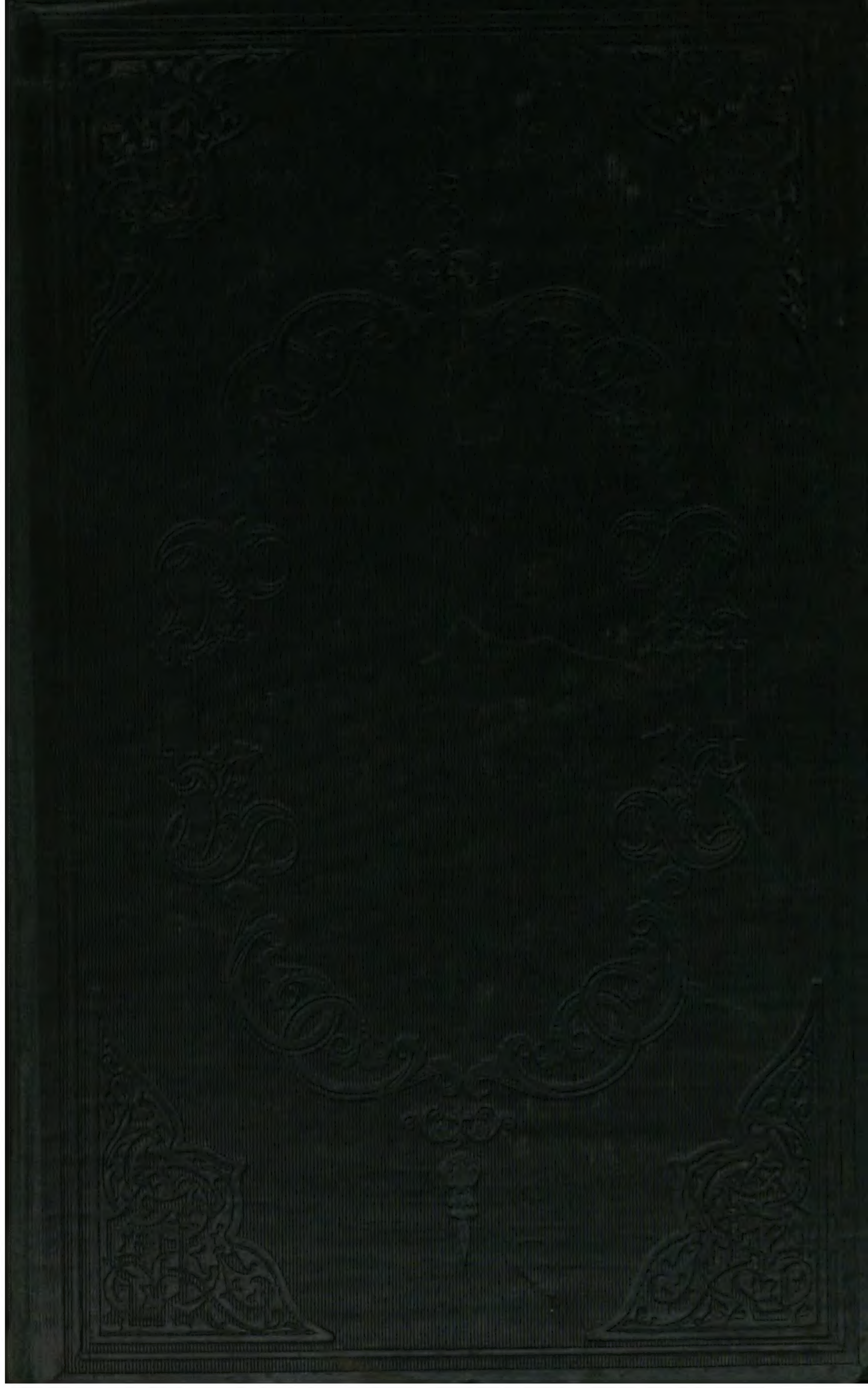


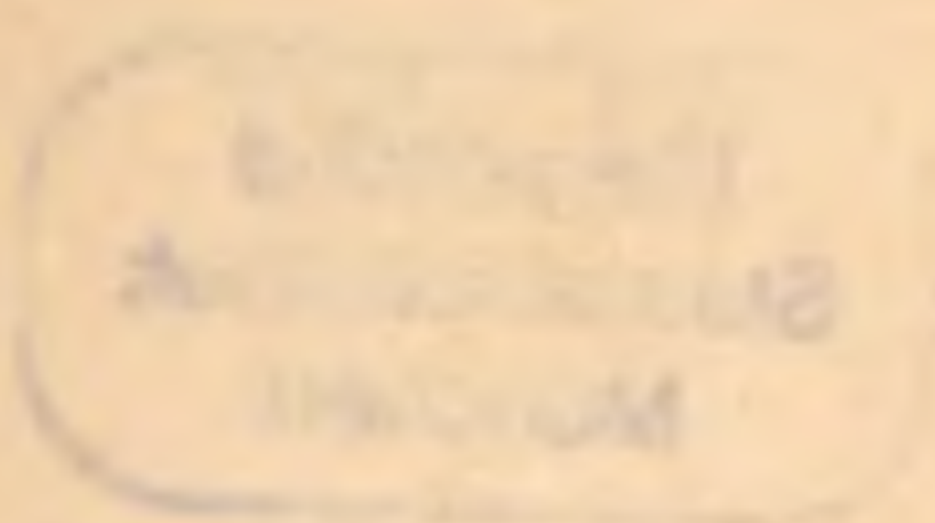


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Collections

George Washington Society

Sussex Archaeological Society.



Archaeological Collections

Great Historical Society
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SUSSEX
Archaeological Collections,
RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY
The Sussex Archaeological Society.



VOL. IV.

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1887

Archaeological Collections

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

PRINTED BY ARLISS AND TUCKER,
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Vol. IV.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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1887

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REPORT.

ANOTHER year of successful progress having elapsed, the Members of the Society may well congratulate themselves;—an Association, which, while promoting much social advantage by the combination of so many classes in one pursuit, has made no inconsiderable contribution to the literary illustration of the history and antiquities of the county.

The Committee, to whom the practical management of the Society has been entrusted, feel encouraged, by its continued prosperity, to believe that the course they have hitherto adopted has been acceptable to the Members, and that the employment of its funds in the expenses of occasional and general meetings, and in the publication of three volumes of interesting matter has been beneficial to its interests and its character.

The Society has, during the year, been increased by a considerable number of new members, amounting to 84, and, at this date (Dec. 31, 1850), reckons 403 members. It is a flattering testimony to its influence to observe that, among these, there are many persons wholly unconnected with Sussex, and that one of its Essays (on Bellencombre, in vol. III), has been translated into French, for publication in the ‘*Revue de Rouen*.’

The accounts for 1850 have been examined, and it is gratifying to state that, all debts having been discharged, a balance of £41. 14s. 3d. remains in the Treasurer’s hands, besides the amount of Life Compositions, invested in £107. 14s. 10d. Three per Cent. Consols.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS,

FROM JANUARY 1, TO DEC. 31, 1850.

1850.	RECEIPTS.	£.	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£.	s.	d.
	Balance from 1849	55	8	6	By Drafts on Treasurer	226	13	8
	Four Life Subscriptions	20	0	0	Invested in 3 per Cent. Consols	20	0	0
	Annual Subscriptions	180	19	0	Balance in Treasurer’s hands,			
	Books Sold	24	9	2	Dec. 31, 1850	41	14	3
	Interest on Funded Capital	4	1	9				
	Re-paid, overdrawn, Dec. 27	3	9	6				
		£288	7	11		£288	7	11

The principal expenditure has been incurred for the printing and illustrations of the Society’s Third Volume. The other chief items were for advertisements, £9. 1s.; printing circulars, £7. 18s.; excavations at Balmer, £7. 9s. 6d.; binding 100 vols., I and II, £4. 0s. 2d.; expenses of Eastbourne and Herstmonceux Meetings, £6. 19s. 5d.; parcels, postage stamps, &c., £4. 17s. 10d.

Some subscriptions in arrear are also due to the Society; and there is a considerable stock of its published volumes, the gradual sale of which to the Public, or at reduced prices to new Members, forms an additional source of income, from which £24. 9s. 2d. was received in 1850.

A General Meeting took place, at Eastbourne, on May 20th, at which Colonel Elwood presided, where various papers and objects of interest were produced.

Report of the Discovery of a Roman Road lately traced near Pole Gate. By Mr. Ade.
Description of the Ancient Coins which had been found near Eastbourne and at Pevensey.
By Mr. W. Harvey.

Some particulars of the Wheatear abounding in the neighbourhood, and the stipulation for a supply of them, found in Leases of Land. By Mr. John Dudeney.

*Historical Account of the Priory of Wilmington, and the Church, with numerous Drawings.
By Rev. G. M. Cooper.

A Papal Dispensation of Leo X, dated June 9, 1516, to permit Thomas Cumbe, Vicar of Arundel, to hold another Benefice in plurality, discovered by the Rev. H. Latham, as forming the outside cover of the Parish Register of Fittleworth.

The Site of the Roman Villa (described in Vol. II, p. 257,) was examined, and the ancient Arched Vault under the Lamb Inn was visited. By the kindness of the Rev. T. Pitman the Church was opened for the inspection of the Members, and the details of its architecture pointed out.

The General Annual Meeting took place at Herstmonceux, on Thursday, July 25th, under the presidency of the Venerable Archdeacon Hare. Although it was not so numerously attended as usual, owing to the very unfavourable weather, yet, in all other respects, it was highly successful, and matters of great interest were brought forward.

The Members assembled, by permission of H. M. Curteis, Esq., M.P., at Herstmonceux Place, where, among the articles exhibited, were:—

Various Original MSS. Documents relating to the Castle. By Rev. E. Venables.

Gold Coins of the time of Henry VIII, found at Herstmonceux. By Mr. Miller.

A Monumental Slab of Iron, dated 1591, from a Cottage, where it had been used as a Chimney Back. By Sir H. Shiffner, Bart.

Leaden Bulla of Pope Innocent IV, found near Battel. By Mr. Rush.

Roman Antiquities, from the Iron Works at Old Land, in Maresfield. By Mr. M. A. Lower.

Roman Ornamented Fibulae, Glass Bottle, Lamp, &c., found at Westergate, near Arundel, in the Garden of Thomas Shiffner, Esq.

Carvings of Fruit and Flowers, by Grinlin Gibbons, from the old Apartments at Herstmonceux Castle. By H. M. Curteis, Esq., M.P.

Various Objects of Interest from Rome and Palestine. By Rev. Mr. Towner.

Roman Pottery, Sepulchral Vases, and Fibulae, found at Bormer, near Lewes.

The following papers were then read:

*On Herstmonceux Castle and its Lords. By Rev. Edmund Venables.

*Glimpses of the Saxon Rule in Sussex. By Rev. C. Bohun Smyth.

*On some Early Wills of Inhabitants of Herstmonceux. By Mr. M. A. Lower.

*On some Mural Paintings lately discovered in Stedham Church. By Mr. J. Butler, jun.

*Observations on the Saints represented in the Stedham Paintings, and on the Legends relating to them. By the Rev. Leveson Vernon Harcourt.

A Meeting, at which several Members attended, also took place on October 16th, at Alfriston, which was the means of introducing fresh matter of antiquarian interest.

Some fine Roman Coins were exhibited by Rev. C. Bohun Smyth, who also kindly accompanied the Members in examining the Church, and explained the Legend of S. Alphege, whose Figure remains in the stained glass there.

An ancient Spear Head found near Battle, a British Urn dug up at Dean's Place, and Drawings of the Saxon Coins found at Milton, were exhibited by Mr. C. Ade.

*Mr. M. A. Lower read an account of the Star Inn, where the Meeting was held, and its curious external Carvings.

*Mr. Blaauw read several Extracts from the Apsley MSS. belonging to Mrs. Mabbott, including original Letters of the Princess Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and others, relating to the Civil War in Sussex, being a Letter from the Rev. Thomas Sharpe, of Beckly, and a Narrative of the capture of Arundel by the Royalists.

*Mr. Blaauw also exhibited some Drawings of Streat Place, by Miss FitzHugh, and described the Latin Inscriptions of the panelled room there.

The most interesting incident during the year 1850, has been the tenancy of the Keep and Gateway of Lewes Castle, by the Society. By the liberal concurrence of the joint landlords (the Earls of Abergavenny, De la Warr, and Amherst), the opportunity offered itself, and the Committee thought that they should best consult the interests of the Society, by occupying, on reasonable terms, a building, which, though not of eminent architectural beauty, was of much historical importance, and the ruins of which, from the beauty of their position and the extensive view commanded from them, have never ceased to be an object of popular resort. Its central situation in the county recommends it as well adapted for the deposit of such books and archaeological remains as may be collected; and the ready sanction of the General Annual Meeting, at Herstmonceux, was, on the motion of the Dean of Chichester, seconded by the Earl of Chichester, unanimously given to this arrangement. The rent agreed upon is £32. a year; but the Committee have thought it advisable, while members should have free admission, to impose a trifling charge upon other parties, and it is confidently expected that the proceeds from this source will cover the expenses of the rent and of the necessary superintendence.

Some considerable repairs were immediately necessary, to fit up one tower for the residence of the warder, but the expenses of these works will be met by the sale of materials on the demolition of the several modern buildings, comprising stables, a school-room, and a large warehouse, all greatly out of repair, now clustered round the ancient gateway of the castle, which will resume much more of its former dignity by their removal.

LEWES; Dec. 31, 1850.

NOTICE.—*The General Annual Meeting will take place at Steyning, on Thursday, August 7, 1851.*

This Volume is distributed free to Members. The price to the Public will be 14s.; but to new Members hereafter joining the Society the price will be 7s., and for them also will be reserved the few remaining copies of previous Volumes, of the Second at 7s. 6d., of the Third at 5s., for which applications may be made to Mr. W. HARVEY, Local Secretary, No. 3, Cliffe, Lewes.

The thanks of the Society are especially due to various Gentlemen, for many of the Illustrations of this present volume; to Mr. Butler, for a liberal Contribution towards the additional expense of colouring the Lithographs of Stedham Church; to the Rev. G. M. Cooper, for the Woodcuts of the Yew Tree and a Window at Wilmington; to the Rev. J. L. Petit, for the Views of the Great Gateway and of the Church of Herstmonceux, also for the Woodcuts of two Capitals, the Font, the Aumbrye, and the Niche, in Herstmonceux Church; to Rev. Edmund Venables, for the two Woodcuts of the Restored View of Herstmonceux Castle, and the Dacre Monument; to Rev. S. D. Wilde, for Woodcuts of the small Tomb and the Pulpit Carvings of Fletching Church.

Numerous presents of Books have been also received, a List of which is subjoined; and the Society has had great pleasure in establishing a friendly interchange of Publications with the following Societies, which are pursuing the same Archæological objects in various parts of the Country, viz.—Norwich and Norfolk Archæological Society; Newcastle Antiquarian Society; Cambridge Antiquarian Society; Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire; Kilkenny Archæological Society; Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton; Société des Antiquaires de Normandie à Caen; Architectural, Archæological, and Historical Society of Cheshire; and the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

Books presented to the Society.

- Aubrey's Natural History of Wiltshire; Junius Elucidated; Wells Cathedral. By John Britton, Esq.
- Cuttings from the Gentleman's Magazine, relating to Sussex. Folio. By Charles Bridger, Esq.
- The Shirley Brothers. 4to. By E. P. Shirley, Esq.
- Proceedings of Archæological Institute at Winchester; Map of British and Roman Yorkshire. By the Archæological Institute.
- Journal of British Archæological Association, Vols. IV, V, VI; Catalogue of Antiquities at Chester Meeting. By the Association.
- Monumental Brasses and Slabs. By Rev. C. Boutell.
- Sepulchra Exposita. By Hon. R. C. Neville.
- Corinium, by Messrs. Buckman and Newmarsh. By W. H. Blaauw, Esq.
- Halliwell's Connection of Wales with Early Science of England; Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream; Catalogue of Codex Holbrookianus; Rara Mathematica; Cambridge MS. Rarities; The Castle of Love. By J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F. R. S., F. S. A.
- Misereres in Exeter Cathedral. By Rev. J. W. Hewett.
- Memoires de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, 1844-1848. By the Society.
- Antiquités Celtiques. By M. Boucher de Perthes.
- Archæologia Eliana, 8 Parts; Pipe Rolls. By Newcastle Antiq. Society.
- King Alfred's Will; Elstob's St. Gregory's Day; Ælfric's Epistle, ad clericos; Paternoster and Te Deum. By Rev. C. B. Smyth.
- Collectanea Antiqua. 6 Parts; Lettres sur la communication entre les deux Bretagnes. Par M. de Gerville. By C. Roach Smith, Esq., F. S. A.
- Echyngham of Echyngham. By Spencer Hall, Esq.
- Proceedings of Numismatic Society. By the Society.
- Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ. By M. Leopold Delisle.
- Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 1847. By the Society.
- Notice Biographique sur Lanfranc; by Professor Charma. Etretat souterrain; Cimetière Romain; Fouilles de Londrinieres; De Neuville; Du Château Gaillard, &c. By M. l'Abbe Cochet.
- Norfolk Archæology. Vols. I, II, and Parts 1 and 2 of III. By the Norwich Society.
- Chester Archæological Society's Journal. By the Society.
- Transactions of Kilkenny Archæological Society. By the Society.
- Proceedings of Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society. Vol. II, Parts 1 and 2. By the Society.
- Proceedings of Somersetshire Archæological Society. By the Society.
- Treasure Trove in Northumberland. By John Fenwick, Esq.

Sussex Archaeological Society.

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THE objects of this Society embrace whatever relates to the Civil or Ecclesiastical History, Topography, Ancient Buildings, or Works of Art, within the County, and for this purpose the Society invite communications on such subjects, especially from those Noblemen and Gentlemen who possess estates within the County, and who may materially assist the completion of the County History, now very imperfect, by the loan of Ancient Documents relating to Estates, Manors, Wills, or Pedigrees, and of any object generally connected with the Ancient History of Sussex.

The Society will collect Manuscripts and Books, Drawings and Prints, Coins and Seals, or Copies thereof, Rubbings of Brasses, Descriptive Notices and Plans of Churches, Castles, Mansions, or other Buildings of antiquarian interest; such Collection to be preserved and made available for the purposes of the Society, by publication or otherwise.

Rules.

1. THAT the Society shall avoid all topics of religious or political controversy, and shall remain independent, though willing to co-operate with similar Societies by friendly communication.

2. THAT the Society shall consist of Members and Associates.

3. THAT candidates for admission be proposed and seconded by two Members of the Society, and elected at any Meeting of the Committee, or at a General Meeting. One black ball in five to exclude.

4. THAT the Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings shall become due on the 1st day of January, or £5 be paid in lieu thereof, as a composition for life. Subscriptions to be paid at the Lewes Old Bank, or by Post-office order, to THOMAS DICKER, Esq., Treasurer, Lewes Old Bank, or to any of the Local Secretaries.

5. THAT Members of either House of Parliament shall, on becoming Members of the Society, be placed on the list of Vice-Presidents, and also such other persons as the Society may determine.

6. THAT the affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee of Management, to consist of a Patron, a President, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries, a Treasurer, and not less than twelve other members, who shall be chosen at the General Annual Meeting; three Members of such Committee to form a Quorum.

7. THAT at every Meeting of the Society, or of the Committee, the resolutions of the majority present shall be binding, though all persons entitled to vote be not present.

8. THAT a General Meeting of the Society be held annually, in July or August, as may be appointed by the Committee, at some place rendered interesting by its Antiquities or Historical Associations, in the Eastern and Western Divisions of the County alternately; such General Meeting to have power to make such alterations in the Rules as a majority may determine, on notice thereof being one month previously given to the Committee.

9. THAT a Special General Meeting may be summoned by the Secretaries on the requisition, in writing, of five members, and either the Patron, President, or two Vice-Presidents, specifying the subject to be brought forward for decision at such Meeting, and such subject only to be then considered.

10. THAT the Committee have power to admit without ballot, on the nomination of two members, any Lady who may be desirous of becoming a Member of the Society.

11. THAT the Committee have power to elect as an Associate of the Society, any person whose local office may enable him to promote the objects of the Society—such Associate not to pay any Subscription, nor to have the right of voting in the affairs of the Society, and to be subject to re-election annually.

12. THAT the Committee be empowered to appoint any Member *Local Secretary* for the town or district where he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects of local interest, and that such Local Secretaries be *ex-officio* Members of the Committee.

13. THAT Meetings for the purpose of reading papers, the exhibition of antiquities, or the discussion of subjects connected therewith, be held at such times and places as the Committee may determine.

14. THAT the Secretaries shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society, to be communicated to the General Meeting, and, until other arrangements can be made, shall have the custody of any books, documents, or antiquities, which may be presented or lent to the Society.

Persons desirous of becoming Members of the Society, are requested to communicate with a Secretary.

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Stedham Church

Ancient Painting on South Wall of Choir



Sussex Archaeological Collections.

THE MURAL PAINTINGS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN STEDHAM CHURCH.

BY THE REV. LEVESON VERNON HARCOURT.

To confine our attention to the æsthetic department of Archæology, and to be content with an unintelligent gazing upon works of mediæval art, or at least to have no other appreciation of their value except as works of art, would be to degrade the science from its true dignity, and to strip it of all its historical and intellectual utility. The discovery of truth is the proper employment of the human understanding within the range assigned to its faculties, and some portions of it will generally reward the search of those who look for them, even in the deep well of fable or legend, in which they lie concealed. I hope to illustrate this proposition by an examination of the frescoes which have recently been discovered in pulling down the church of Stedham, and which have been faithfully depicted, so far as the whitewash that covered them could be removed, by Mr. Butler, a son of the architect to whom the rebuilding of the church was confided, the artist having skilfully copied all that the most practised eye could discover. The colour in some parts is so faint, that it is extremely difficult to interpret all the design; but there are four panels sufficiently intelligible, on which I have to offer a few remarks.

Of these subjects, St. George, who occupies the upper part of the centre on the south wall, has the first claim for consideration, both because he is the patron saint of England, and because he furnishes some evidence of the date to which

the paintings are to be ascribed. They are not coeval with the building of the walls; for they have not that depth and full possession of the plaster, which colours obtain if they are laid on while it is fresh and moist; strictly speaking, therefore, they are not frescoes, though, for want of a better, it is a convenient term to designate all those paintings in distemper which Cimabue and Giotto introduced with so much success into Western Europe. The original architecture of the church appears to have been Norman, or rather, perhaps, Saxon; for the extreme narrowness and scarcity of the windows seem to indicate a darker age, and the name of the place is thoroughly Saxon, being composed of two Anglo-Saxon words, which, being translated, exactly correspond to the English word, 'homestead'; so little light, indeed, could have been admitted through such crevices, that the prayers and exhortations must either have been delivered extempore, or recited from memory; but when the first pointed style of architecture was introduced, the inconvenience was felt to be so great, that two openings were made in the south wall, and a double lancet was introduced on each side of the original light, if that can be called a light which scarcely admitted any; though towards the end of the thirteenth century, probably, one of them was replaced by a double trefoil-headed window; at the same time, or perhaps somewhat later, the same want of light being still felt, another two-light window was inserted close by the side of the early English one; but all the alterations were made before the paintings were added. They then nearly covered the north side, which was only pierced by the narrow Saxon windows, till some ruthless churchwarden—perhaps the same who built the tower in 1670, broke through the picture of the Last Judgment, in order to insert a flat-headed three-light window. None of the figures wear the flowing drapery which we see in the productions of the Italian painters; their dresses have, for the most part, that matter-of-fact formality which might be expected from native artists, among whom the revived art would not make its way, especially in a small church of an obscure village, till after the lapse of many years; and the florid character of the architectural ornaments must be referred to a late period of the Decorated style, about the middle of the fourteenth century. Now this date coin-

cides very well with the evidence furnished by the design of St. George; for it may be observed that his combat with the dragon is not represented according to the conventional form given to it in the Order of the Garter, and adopted by the knights of St. George in Russia, Burgundy, and Rome—one difference is, that in all the other instances, the dragon is entirely below the horse, and the spear is wielded either by the left hand only, or by both, but here the head of the dragon is in advance of the horse, and the lance is in the right hand of the rider; but further he is less fully armed than he is represented in all the pictures with which I am acquainted, with slight armour on his arms and knees; he wears a vest of white cloth, bearing a red cross, something like the badge worn by the canons of the Penitence of Martyrs, which, bating the anachronism, would not misbecome St. George, as I propose to show. But it is very remarkable, that a small black cross lies under the red cross, forming a star upon the back, which is more distinctly represented on a banner suspended in the background, and of which the rays to a certain point are inclosed within a circle like the garter. Now the bearings of those knights is thus described by heralds: on the left breast of the riding habit they wear a star of eight points, having in the centre the arms of the Order; argent, a cross gules, within a garter.

This fresco, therefore, must have been painted after the institution of the Order, which is supposed—though the exact date is uncertain—to have taken place about the year 1350. It must be remembered, that the George was not appended to the collar till the reign of Henry VIII. It is stated, indeed, by Polydore Vergil (l. 19, p. 372), that when Edward III had chosen him to preside over his army, he assigned to him, armed and seated on a horse, a white shield bearing a red cross—but there is not a word about the dragon; and it is evident that the artist, though loyally admitting the martyr's newly instituted honours, was not accustomed to regard him as a great chevalier, ready to do battle against monsters, and that he was wholly unacquainted with the deeds of the saint, which Jacobus de Voragine had been recording, not long before, in the Golden Legend.

St. George was not a warrior in fields of battle, but a

Christian warrior in the cause of truth. He had long been honoured in this country as an eminent martyr. Dr. Heylin mentions a canon of a synod at Oxford in 1222, which ordered a peculiar service to be celebrated by all parochial priests on St. George's day, the 23d of April; and that no servile work shall be done upon it. Mr. Pegge (*Archæologia*, vol. v), enumerates several priories and churches that had been previously dedicated to this saint, and the churches bearing his name in Southwark and at Canterbury are said to have been founded before the Norman invasion; at Thetford (*Tanner's Not.*; *Blomfield's Norfolk*) a church of St. George was granted by Canute to the abbot of Bury, who added to it a monastery for regular canons, perhaps of the order of the Penitence of Martyrs. If it be asked, what induced Edward to knight the saint, a satisfactory reason may be found in a passage of Bede's *Ephemeris*, which, after mentioning other saints, to whom the 23d day of April was assigned, concludes with this couplet:

“Hæc etiam invicto mundum qui sanguine temnis
Infinita refers Georgi sancte trophæa.”

“On this day, too, St. George, whose blood throws scorn
Upon this world, what trophies hast thou borne!”

Where it is plain that the victory to which it alludes is the victory of faith displayed in martyrdom; and his ordinary titles in the *Menologia*, or breviaries, were Trophy-bearer and Champion. This character might easily suggest the mounting him on horseback; but the first writer who mentions any equestrian figure of him is Nicephorus Gregoras, who was contemporary with Edward III. His glory is thus summed up by Heylin:

“His name is commemorated in the martyrologies of Rome and Greece; his reliques revered in Spain, Constantinople, France, and Germany; temples are erected to his honour in Rome, Thrace, Romula, Diospolis, Alexandria, Cairo, and Ethiopia, and in other places by prelates, popes, and emperors; temples in Asia, Europe, and Africa; in the principal cities of the east and west and southern parts of the whole world.”

It is worthy of notice, too, that so early as the sixth century, the emperor Justinian is said by Procopius to have dedicated a church to him in Armenia. But, although in all these instances he was venerated only as a martyr, and there is no written evidence of his having been previously mounted on a horse, yet it is remarkable that the Priory of Greseley, in Derbyshire, dedicated to St. Mary and St. George, had a seal, about the time of Richard, bearing an equestrian figure of the saint; and Richard is said to have been inspired by St. George to institute that order of knighthood which Edward III really founded, as his statutes express it, "to the honour of Almighty God, St. Mary the glorious Virgin, and St. George the Martyr." In the year 1344, in imitation of Justinian, he dedicated the chapel of Windsor to our saint. In 1349, at the battle of Calais, he publicly invoked St. George, but not alone, nor yet combined with any military saint, like St. Maurice or St. Sebastian, but with the unwarlike Edward the Confessor.

Though thus accepted as a saint, yet the character of St. George has been blamed by high authorities. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ii, 404) says, that "each moment of his episcopal reign at Alexandria was polluted by cruelty and avarice;" Milner (*Ch. Hist.*, ii, 131) says, that "he distinguished himself as the persecutor of the people of God;" and Pope Gelasius I, in the synod of Rome, in 494, specifies the martyrdom of St. George among the writings which were not allowed to be read in the Roman church, that no occasion of scandal might arise, because it was said to have been written by heretics. The question, then, naturally occurs, if this be so, how came he to be admitted among the saints? How came Andreas Cretensis, in the sixth century, to commend so highly his wisdom, his integrity, and his flagrant zeal against impiety? Or how came our own Chaucer to exhort the knights who had just been instituted to do him service and knightly obeisance, thus, "For Christes cause is his, well knowen ye?" An examination of the real circumstances of his martyrdom will, I think, solve this enigma. We have the evidence of two contemporary writers, whose testimony is the more impartial, because they were not Christians, Ammianus Marcellinus and the Emperor Julian. The former tells us that "George the bishop had made himself extremely unpopular,

not only by turning common informer in order to ingratiate himself with the Emperor Constantius, but also by representing to him, 'that the public buildings, which had been constructed by Alexander at the public expense, ought to pay a tax to the revenue.' Now those public buildings were doubtless the heathen temples; but the immediate cause of his death was a greater exuberance of zeal; for when he returned from exile, by the favour of Constantius, in passing through the heathen temple, he lifted up his eyes upon its stately walls, and said, 'how long shall this sepulchre stand?' which was understood to be a threat of its destruction; and two of his attendant priests were murdered too, one because he had overthrown an altar recently erected at the mint, and the other because he had cut off the hair of some boys, under the idea that it ministered to superstition. They were all slain with brutal cruelty, and their dead bodies were exposed in the streets on the backs of camels, then burned on the shore, and their ashes were thrown into the sea, lest they should be collected and venerated as the ashes of martyrs, and honoured with shrines." (Amm. Marc., l. 22, c. iv). Before we proceed to the testimony of Julian, let us see how Sozomene represents the previous conduct of George. He says, "that the Gentiles had greater and more motives of hatred towards him than the Athanasians, who were accused of instigating his murder, especially on account of injuries offered to their images and temples, and his prohibitions of their sacrifices and native rites: moreover, there had been a quarrel about a place called Mithrias, a waste place, which Constantius had given to the church. George, on clearing it away, in order to build a house of prayer, discovered a sanctuary containing some images and apparatus used in the mysteries and initiations practised there, which, appearing to the Christians to be ridiculous, were paraded by them through the town in scorn of the heathen, who then assembled and attacked them with swords and stones, and other weapons, and some were crucified, and they were obliged to abandon their undertaking, and the bishop was obliged to fly from the country." (Hist. Eccl., l. v, c. 7.) After his return Constantius died, and Julian succeeded to the imperial throne, whose known hatred of Christianity encouraged its heathen inhabitants to take their

revenge for the indignities offered to their false religion, and for every effort to subvert it; the emperor, in truth, was not much displeased, and contented himself with sending this mild rebuke, as the only punishment of the barbarous crime which they had committed: "You will say it was because he exasperated Constantius against you, and because he introduced an army into your holy city, and the Egyptian commander, fearing him more than Constantius, took possession of the most sacred temple (of Serapis), plundering from thence the image, and offerings, and furniture; and when you resented it, and tried to defend the god, or rather the property of the god, he sent his soldiers against you. Unjustly, illegally, and impiously, in your rage against George, the enemy of the gods on these accounts, you have defiled the holy city again with blood, when you might have sent him before the tribunals; granted that he deserved to suffer such things, and, I might add, worse and severer punishments, yet not from you," &c.

These contemporary accounts of the saint's death sufficiently coincide with the statement of his later panegyrists, that he brought it upon himself by his hostility to heathen superstition.

The fiction of the pestiferous dragon, which St. George encountered and dragged into the city by the princess's girdle, is easily explained, the girdle being the girdle of truth, and the monster false religion, in the form of Serapis, which is described by Macrobius as a three-headed animal, bound up in the folds of a dragon. (Bochart Hier., l. ii, c. 34.) In the church of St. Francis d'Assisi, Cimabue has painted Michael, like St. George, thrusting his lance into the mouth of the dragon; for the saint is not necessarily mounted on horseback, though that was the device which suited the Crusaders best. Out of six representations of him mentioned by Husenbeth (*Emblems of S. S.*, p. 61), only two are equestrian; and if the archangel were deprived of his proper attributes, the wings, it would be impossible to distinguish the one from the other. From these data we may conclude that the victory of St. George, depicted on the walls of Stedham Church, was a victory over the enemies of Christianity, nor is it difficult to conjecture, with tolerable accuracy, the date of its execution; for an ancient manuscript informs us, that in the year 1368

certain persons in the West Street of Chichester (*Westrata, Cicestrie*), who proposed to form a fraternity or guild, being impelled by the highest devotion towards that saint, the protector and patron of England, placed an image of him for his honour in the church of Chichester. (Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 672.) It is probable, therefore, that about the same time, or certainly not long after, it would become the fashion to imitate, in the neighbouring parish churches, the example thus set in the cathedral city.

The drawing which has the next claim upon our attention is the representation of St. Ursula, on the north wall, for she, too, is a British saint, though Mrs. Jameson has most unpatriotically disowned her, in her work on *Sacred and Legendary Art*, by following the German version of her story, on the authority of Antonius and Jacobus Philippus; and this, too, although she had before her, and refers to, Junius, who tells a very different story, which he professes to have extracted from very ancient manuscripts, and which is less extravagant than the legend which she has adopted.

At the end of the sixth century, Cyriacus, patriarch of Constantinople, is said to have rebaptised, at Rome, Conan, to whom Ursula was betrothed, although he had been already baptised before he began his journey, at the request of Ursula. Conan is said to have given orders to all his vassals in his kingdom of France, and in Scotland, and in the province of Cornwall, to send 11,000 virgins to his court. Now this is a combination which could not have occurred before the fourteenth century, thereby marking the date of the legend. Discarding, therefore, this legend, let us turn to the account of Surius. "When all the ends of the earth," says he, "were converted to Christianity, and not any corner of the ocean hid itself from the warmth of faith, Deonatus a most religious king reigned in part of Britain; his daughter Ursula was a paragon of beauty, learning, and piety; and her fame had spread to such distant lands, that a barbarian king of great wealth and power sent ambassadors to demand her hand in marriage for his son, with abundance of promises and threats, but she had vowed to dedicate herself to Christ, and to receive no other spouse; her father, therefore, was much

distressed; but was finally relieved from his perplexity by a vision which she related to him. It was revealed to her, that she was to give an apparent consent upon very singular terms; ten noble virgins were to be selected for her companions, and each of them, as well as herself, was to be provided with a thousand virgin attendants, and eleven ships were to be built for them, in which they were to practise the art of navigation for three years before she repaired to her suitor's court, as if to fulfil her contract." This is a proposal, which could only have been imagined for an insular, and consequently a seafaring people; and accordingly, having employed that interval of preparation in training up her female crews, not only to a perfect knowledge of nautical manœuvres, but also to the more important knowledge of faith in Christ; and having persuaded them to take upon themselves the same vows of perpetual chastity, she sailed with a favourable wind to a harbour on the coast of Gaul, called Tile, probably Teil on the Waal; and having passed the night there, and laid in a stock of provisions, they took to their oars and proceeded up the river to Cologne.

In order to give some sort of consistency to the legend, two things must and may reasonably be taken for granted; first, that when each of these ladies is said to have had a thousand attendants, we are only to understand that they were numerous, a definite number being taken indefinitely, of which we have many examples in Scripture; and secondly, that the barbarian prince was a chieftain of one of the powerful tribes, which were then overrunning Germany, for the ambassadors had made a long journey to reach Britain (*emenso grandi itinere*), which would not be true if they only crossed the channel.

Ursula landed at Cologne, and in the night a man of angelic glory appeared to her, and promised her a safe conduct to Rome to perform her vows there, and a safe conduct back to Cologne, and then a crown of martyrdom for her and all her train; this being communicated to the rest, they sailed to Basle, and from thence went overland to Rome, where they visited the sacred shrines, and prayed, and then returned by the same route, prepared to meet their fate, though they knew not how, for, remembering the friendly reception which they

had met with at Cologne, they landed there on their arrival without any hesitation ; but it so happened that the town at that time was besieged by the Huns, who immediately fell upon them and slew them. Ursula herself, refusing to become the wife of the general, was shot by an arrow, which in many of her pictures she holds in her hand.

Whatever historical truth there may be in this legend, there is none in its chronology ; for it goes on to say, that this ruthless slaughter was punished by a sudden panic, which scattered the Huns, and drove them away from the beleaguered city ; and the inhabitants rejoicing in their unexpected deliverance poured forth their thanksgivings, not so much to God as to the martyrs. When, however, the Huns under Attila attacked Cologne in 451, they took it, and destroyed it ; they have been confounded, therefore, with some other tribe, and the date must be earlier. We know that the city was threatened by the Franks under Marcomir in 388, and possibly may have had several similar alarms from those roving hordes during thirty years afterwards ; and that would give a date to the transactions sufficiently in accordance with history. In one point, however, the legend has an advantage over history, supposing it to be thus interpreted, and explains reasonably enough, why Ursula is said to have had a prosperous voyage in ascending the Rhine in search of her affianced lord, with whom she, nevertheless, knew that she never was to be united. Our British historians carry her there against her will, by error or by accident ; the names, however, of her father and her suitor are the same names which are given by the Cologne legend, and are ascertained beyond a doubt to be British.

There is one great advantage in accepting the account of the British historians—they furnish a very fair explanation of a mystery which has much perplexed both writers and artists—the prodigious troop of virgins in the train of Ursula. They cannot be reduced to one under the name of Undecimilla—signifying eleven thousand ; for the legend mentions the names of several, but Undecimilla is not among them. Nor can they be reduced to eleven by taking the Latin numeral M for martyrs instead of thousands ; for the number is mentioned as a fact, before any of them were martyred. But

take the account of Polydore Vergil, and the difficulty vanishes at once. He says that "Conan, a British chieftain, having obtained the supreme power in Armorica by means of his British army, expelled the Gauls, and introduced everywhere British inhabitants; and that he might preserve the British blood pure, he would not allow his soldiers to marry the natives, but sent for wives for them out of Britain; so that a large number of virgins emigrated there, and at one time 11,000 of *either* sex perished, partly by shipwreck, and partly by violence, being killed by barbarians when they landed; and among them one was said to be St. Ursula, the daughter of Dionotus, prince (Regulus) of Cornwall, she having been betrothed to Conan." (Hist. l. 3, p. 50).

In this narrative all mention of Cologne is omitted; but the tradition related by Usher, which greatly augments the number, at the same time fills up the blank. He says that the whole emigration consisted of 30,000 soldiers and 100,000 others, and that, of their destined brides, St. Ursula and 11,000 noble and 60,000 plebeian virgins, some mistaking their way landed at Cologne, and were murdered by the Huns. (Ant. Brit. 107). Fabian recites the same particulars (Chron. p. 51) with little variation.

Another historian of the 14th century, Harding, after going over the same ground, adds these rude rhymes:

"This Dionote custos was of Britain;
His daughter was with those virgins then forth sent,
In Thamis shipped and cast in Almayn,
By tempest great, their shippes all to rent,
Many of them were dead, and many spent
In sickness, frayed in storms and sore tempest,
That full fain they there would have had their rest.
Gwames was then king of Houndeland,
And Malga king of Paynims hatous,
In whose landes they arrived, I understand.
Unto them then they were full odious,
Passing ireful and full malicious;
And for that they would not be devirginate,
They slew them all through cruelty and hate."

Harding's Chron. 104; see also *Rastell's Chron.* 450.

That the Christian princes thus constantly associated with the story of St. Ursula had a real, and not merely an imaginary existence, as Milton rashly surmised, we may infer from col-

lateral evidence. Buchanan, in his 'History of Scotland,' relates how a British prince, Dionethus (which is a version of the same name, evidently not copied from English sources) fought, in conjunction with two Scotch chiefs, against the Romans, under Maximian, and was wounded in the battle in which they were slain, but escaped and returned into his own country; and he mentions Conan as having complained in a British council that all their youth were sent abroad. (Histor. Rex Scot. l. 5. c. 5 & 11). It appears, therefore, that both of them were hostile to the Roman government; and in what way Conan became possessed of the supreme authority in that part of France which was then called, not Brittany but Armorica, we learn from a very accurate and trustworthy French author, whose statement coincides very much with that of our own historians.

In 'L'Art de verifier les Dates,' we find, that in 384, Maximus being in Britain, transported into Armorica the third part of the British youth, not to punish them, but to reward them for their military exploits under his command. These, added to the other British fugitives who had expatriated themselves during the preceding century, in consequence of the invasion of the Saxons, made themselves masters of the country; and it was probably at that time, or a little after, that Armorica took the name of Bretagne. The Britons founded there a state almost monarchical on the ruins of the republican government which they found there. Conan, surnamed Meriadec, prince of Albania, as part of Scotland was then called, was chosen to be their prince in 409, when they found themselves abandoned to the barbarians by the Romans. He was a very zealous Christian, and founded the bishoprics of Dol, Vannes, and Quimper, in concert with Grallin, the earl of Cornwall. (V. ii. 890).

These testimonies are sufficient to show why the story of Ursula was popular in England. She was an eminent Christian lady; but in order to represent it on the walls of a church, it was necessary to adopt the legend which was then in vogue, and perhaps read in churches. But though she was considered a saint, she is not at Stedham represented as a martyr. She does not, as in later pictures, wear the crown of martyrdom, nor does she bear in her hand the arrow which

was the instrument of her death. The point of time selected by the artist is that, when she saw the vision which directed her to proceed to Rome and there receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, previous to the death which awaited her on her return. These directions are intimated by emblems connected with the figure of our Lord, on whose body the five stigmata are sufficiently conspicuous. The two-wheeled car on which he stands signifies a long journey overland, being connected with the feet of Ursula; and amidst the triple glory which encompasses his head, the sacramental symbols, the chalice and the patine, are introduced, and two or three of the longer rays seem intended for javelins or arrows. Perhaps, too, eternal life is in the balance, and is supposed to determine her choice in weighing the cost of the undertaking. Her long golden tresses are characteristic of her, and the ermined robe marks her rank. The small figures sheltered beneath her mantle have been mistaken for children by those who either reject or were ignorant of the legend, and therefore she is absurdly reckoned the patroness of children; but it is merely the device of the artist, usual in England as elsewhere, to represent the attendant virgins under her protection.

The third design which occupies the middle compartment of the north wall, is one that is very common in church frescoes, and probably owes its popularity in this country to the same cause as the story of St. George, that is to say, it was imported by the Crusaders from the East; for St. Christopher is a Saint of the Greek as well as of the Latin Church, as indeed his name imports, and there he was called the great martyr, meaning thereby one of those whom Radowitz calls "Nothhelfer," or the great auxiliators of mankind; but this being misunderstood by the western legend-writers, they turned him into a giant: one makes him twelve feet in height, another twelve cubits, and another declares that a perfect foot of the Saint was exported into Bosnia from Byzantium, when it was taken by the Turks, of such magnitude that it reaches from the heel of an ordinary man up to his armpit, which would give him a height of about twenty-seven feet. It is not difficult to discern a reason for the

ready acceptance of this monstrous legend by the early artists of Europe, which was then inhabited by a manly military race of men, not much civilised, and valuing nothing so much as bodily strength. In their churches therefore they preferred seeing the infant Jesus mounted on the shoulders of a giant rather than in the arms of his mother. A Latin couplet, appended to the pictures, assured the spectator that whoever looked on the form of St. Christopher was safe on that day from any violent death.

“ Christophori sancti speciem quicumque tuetur
Illâ nempe die non morte malâ morietur.”

And another couplet, highly extolling his virtues, adds,

“ Qui te mane videt, nocturno tempore ridet.”
Delightful shall the evening be
To him who early looks at thee.

In order to enjoy the benefits of this talisman, it was a common practice to exhibit the wonder-working saint on the outside of sacred edifices as well as in the interior. He is said to have converted to Christianity, according to some writers, 18,000, according to others 48,000 heathens in Lycia, where he suffered martyrdom; and more particularly two different bands of soldiers, each consisting of 200, who were sent by the Prætor Dagnus to bring him away by force, but who returned quoting Scripture, and prepared to die with him, and also two women, Niceta and Aquilina, who were sent, like the women of Moab, to seduce him from his allegiance to Christ, but were reclaimed by his pious instructions, and courageously encountered cruel deaths in defence of their faith. As there are probably many persons who are quite unacquainted with the legend, it is necessary to recite so much of it as belongs to the explanation of the picture. A heathen, whose name by a clumsy fiction is represented to have been Offero, but more appropriately, by a various reading, Reprobis, received, on his conversion, the name of Christophorus, which seems to have suggested the story founded upon its meaning Christ-bearer. Being very desirous to serve Christ, but not knowing how, he consulted a hermit, who recommended him to make the best use of his strength and stature for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, by helping them to pass

through a rapid and dangerous river, which had no bridge across it. This he readily undertook to do, and stationing himself on the bank, and steadying his steps with a palm-tree, which he had plucked up by the roots, he was never weary of carrying all who wanted his assistance through the tumultuous waters. At last it happened that, in a dark night, he heard the weak voice of a child asking a passage to the other side, and though the darkness was so great that he could not see the petitioner without the aid of a lantern, which the hermit, or, as he is sometimes called, Cucuphatas the martyr, is made by some to hold, he immediately complied, but as he struggled on through the rising waters, the burthen which he bore seemed to grow more and more insupportable, and when he reached with difficulty the opposite shore, he thus remonstrated :—"Thou hast placed my life in extreme peril : for if I had carried the whole world on my shoulders, I should scarcely have felt it more." "Wonder not at that," was the reply, "for thou hast carried not the whole world only, but Him who created it ;" and, in confirmation of his words, he ordered him to stick his palm-staff into the earth, which immediately brought forth leaves, and flowers, and fruit. The moral of this legend, which Baronius admits must have an allegorical interpretation, is well expressed in some Latin verses, written upon an image of the Saint exhibited at Augsburg, by Stigelius, who was a Lutheran. They were published by Chytnæus, in the form of a dialogue between the spectator and St. Christopher. The former begins by asking "Who are you?—A. I am the image of one sincerely professing to be a Christian, the sweet name which He whom I carry has given me. Q. Who is the child?—A. It is Christ. Q. What need of such gigantic strength to bear so light a burthen?—A. Outwardly he seems to be a child, than whom, nevertheless, nothing in the world is greater ; hence great powers both of mind and body are needful for those who would carry Christ to the knowledge of mankind. Q. But why, walking through the depths of the swelling sea, do you drive back the troublous waters with your treelike staff?—A. By the sea which I tread under my feet, understand the wicked world, which surrounds pious minds with fearful perils ; by the staff understand nothing else than the

word of God, which supports the heart in tribulation, and armed with which, we who preach the great work of Christ's righteousness boldly encounter difficulties and dangers. Q. But who is the old man at a distance, that with a lighted torch points out the way? (he was sometimes represented holding a torch, instead of a lantern.)—A. The guiding light signifies the oracles that announced the coming Messiah, and the holy man represents the ancient prophets." The verses conclude with a welcome to the Saint, and this pleasing address to him whose name he bears,

————— Optime Christe
Mecum habita; tecum vivere sola salus

O Blessed Jesus! dwell with me;
'Tis not life to live without thee.

This interpretation of the device is adopted by Roman Catholic writers; but there are two or three circumstances in the present picture which remain to be noticed. The holy child holds the globe in his hand, the lantern is not held by the hermit, who is shown in a separate compartment, but stands on the shore with all its ribs but one obliterated; the staff is just bursting into leaf; a ship is to be seen in the water, because the saint was the patron of shipping, of those who encountered the perils of the sea; and partly also, perhaps, in order to inform the spectators that they were looking at water; much in the same way as in the clown's play of 'Pyramus and Thisbe,' in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' a bush and a lantern are introduced by them "to present moonshine," and a man with mortar sticking to him "to present a wall." Possibly too the dog, which appears upon the shore, may answer the same purpose in designating land, or else it may refer to a variety in the legend, which describes Christopher, before his conversion, as one of the Cynocephali, or dog-headed men, supposed by Pliny to exist in Ethiopia; for it raised the wonder higher, that a dog should be heard, not only to speak, but to preach the Christian faith. Strange as much of this may be, yet Mrs. Jameson is scarcely justified in treating the whole as a parable; for Bellarmine very justly argues that there must have been some foundation of historical truth for a story so generally received, concerning a person

admitted into both the Greek and Roman martyrologies. A Spanish hymn, cited by Baronius, celebrates the elegance of his stature, as well as the fervour of his devotion, which certainly cannot refer to the legend; for though it implies something remarkable in his stature, it excludes the idea of its being monstrous. There is nothing incredible in the suggestion of those who wrote the 'Acta Sanctorum,' that he was taller and stronger than the generality of men; and, however unskilfully the materials may have been huddled together, there is nothing incredible in the supposition that he was a barbarian captain taken by the Greeks; that he was taught Greek at Samos; that he was converted, not by an angel, but by the Holy Spirit; that he was baptized by Babylas, the patriarch of Antioch; that he was a very faithful servant of Christ, and bore him, not on his shoulders, but in his heart; that he converted many of those whom he commanded before; that he endured many severe torments, rather than renounce his faith; and that, finally, he suffered martyrdom in the Dacian persecution. Though we may not believe that Dagnus, his Lycian persecutor, having been deprived of the sight of one eye by an arrow intended for the saint, had it restored after his death by the application of his blood, which produced his conversion, yet there is nothing incredible in the statement, that he was converted by witnessing the fortitude of the martyr, and his constancy, even unto death: for it is well known that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church.

And now a very few words will suffice to explain what I conceive to be the meaning of the various objects contained in the fourth picture, which is a representation of the Last Judgment. The outlines are very faintly delineated, and nearly one-third of the picture is cut off by the insertion of the modern window; but when it was entire, the central figure, high above all, was the Judge of the whole earth, clad in royal apparel, but very coarse, both in the conception and execution, and his glory is represented by two burning candles; at his feet appears the "city which hath good foundations, whose builder is God," very inaccurate, if it is intended for the New Jerusalem; for it is not four square, and only one

gate is shown, but containing a multitude of the blessed, and two saints, probably representatives of the Apostles, occupy exalted thrones, and the archangel is blowing his trumpet; and, below, the dead are rising from their tombs. On the right of the throne another angel has been gathering the elect from the four corners of the earth, who are looking with calm adoration to their Judge; and on the left, no doubt, we should have seen the lost assembled, for one of them is still visible, in the act of falling into the flames of hell, which, with various expectant fiends and tortured souls, occupy all the bottom of the picture. It was a continual sermon for those who could more easily be taught by the eye than by the ear.

Stedham Church

Ancient Painting found on North Wall of Nave



Drawn & Printed by Leighton Brit

THE ANTIQUITIES OF STEDHAM CHURCH.

BY MR. J. E. BUTLER.

BEFORE noticing the paintings which have lately been discovered in Stedham Church, it will perhaps be well, by way of preface, to give a brief description of its architecture, and of the very ancient carved fragments which have been brought to light by the pulling down of the old nave.

From the bulging of the nave walls, owing to the very awkward situation of the tower (between nave and chancel), and more than all, from the want of sufficient accommodation in the church, it has been found necessary to pull down the old building, with the exception of the tower, and reconstruct it on a new foundation and on a larger scale.

The old church consisted of a nave, central tower (but no transepts), and chancel.

The nave, from the simple and even rude character of its windows and masonry, must be of early date, and in all probability is the church mentioned in Domesday Book: "Here is a church; 10 ministers."

The tower has been rebuilt (circa 1670), but all the lower portion of it is original.

The chancel is of the simple lancet style, c. 1200, and has had a brass on the floor; but there are no signs of mural painting.

The lower portions of the nave walls have been built in a manner very unusual, which may be termed kist or chest fashion—*i.e.*, for the first four or five feet with slabs or blocks set edgeways (*vide* annexed sketches, fig. 1, 6, 7, 8, 9); and it is to this method of building, and the want of sufficient depth of foundation, that the bulging of the nave walls may be attributed. The surfaces of some of these stones are ornamented with crosses of various patterns, standing in relief about one inch and a half above the face. Others, again, are

quite plain, and would appear to have been fresh from the pit at the time of their insertion, having been only "faced" with the stone hammer or axe, and cut into coffin-lids, ready to receive the monumental cross upon it, when, upon the decease of any person, the stone coffin and its lid should be required. A further proof of this is given by the fact, that the dimensions of those stones, which have already served to memorialise the dead, tally very generally with those that have not—their average size being over six feet long, twenty-two inches wide at the head, eighteen inches at the foot, and eight or nine inches thick.

Four stone coffins have also been taken out of the wall (fig. 3, 4)—three are of grown persons, but one, only two feet nine inches long, was found in the tower wall. There was no trace of human remains in either, but one, at least, had the drain bored for the escape of moisture. It is curious, also, that many specimens of cable-moulding (fig. 10), the ordinary criterion of Norman work, have been found in these walls.

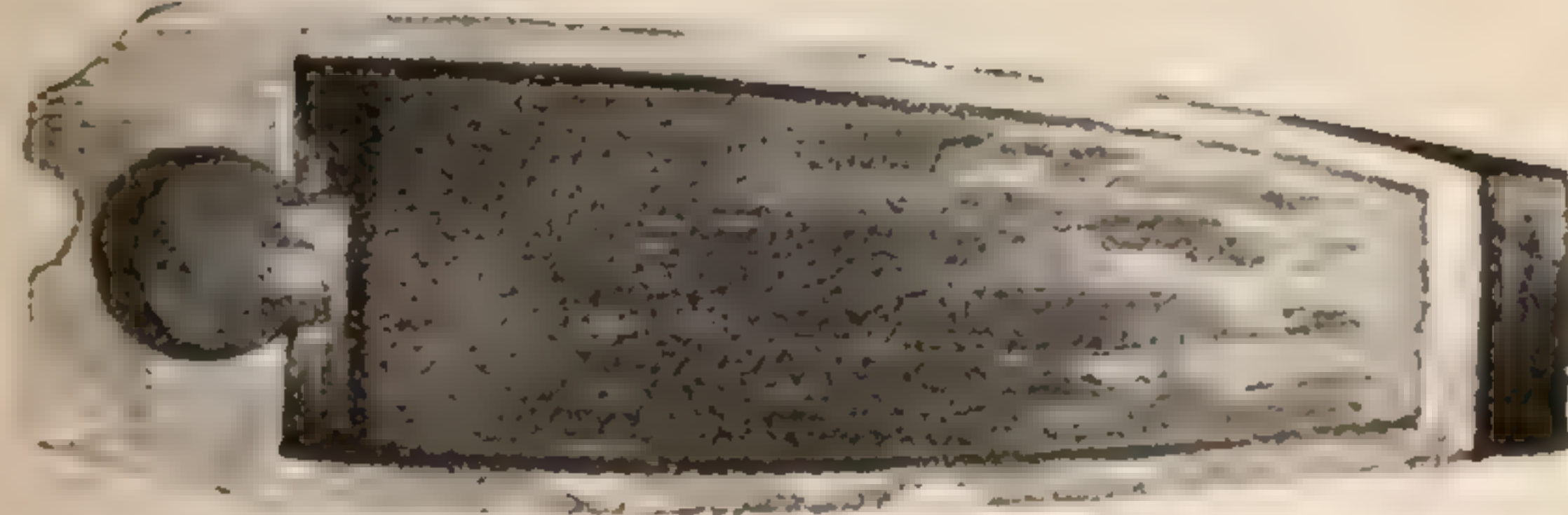
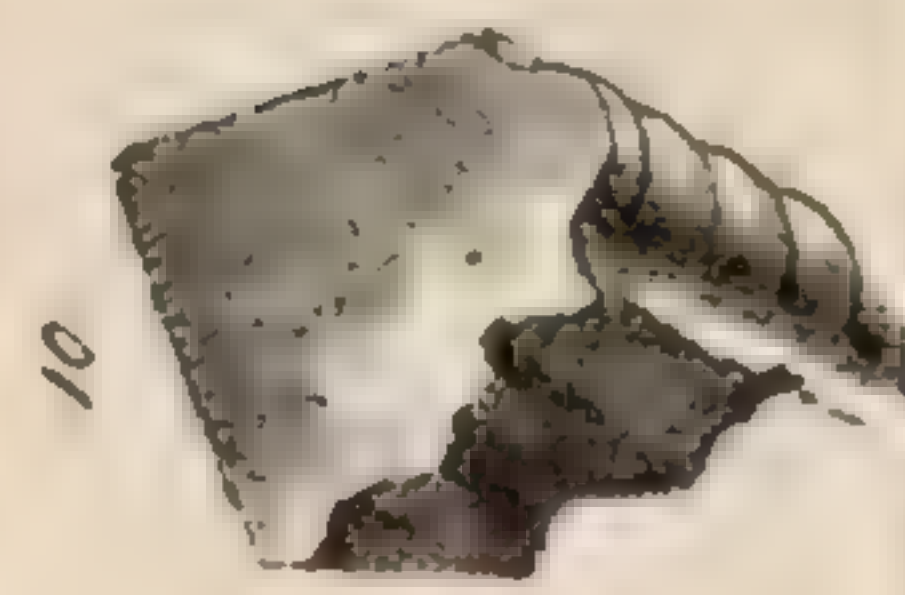
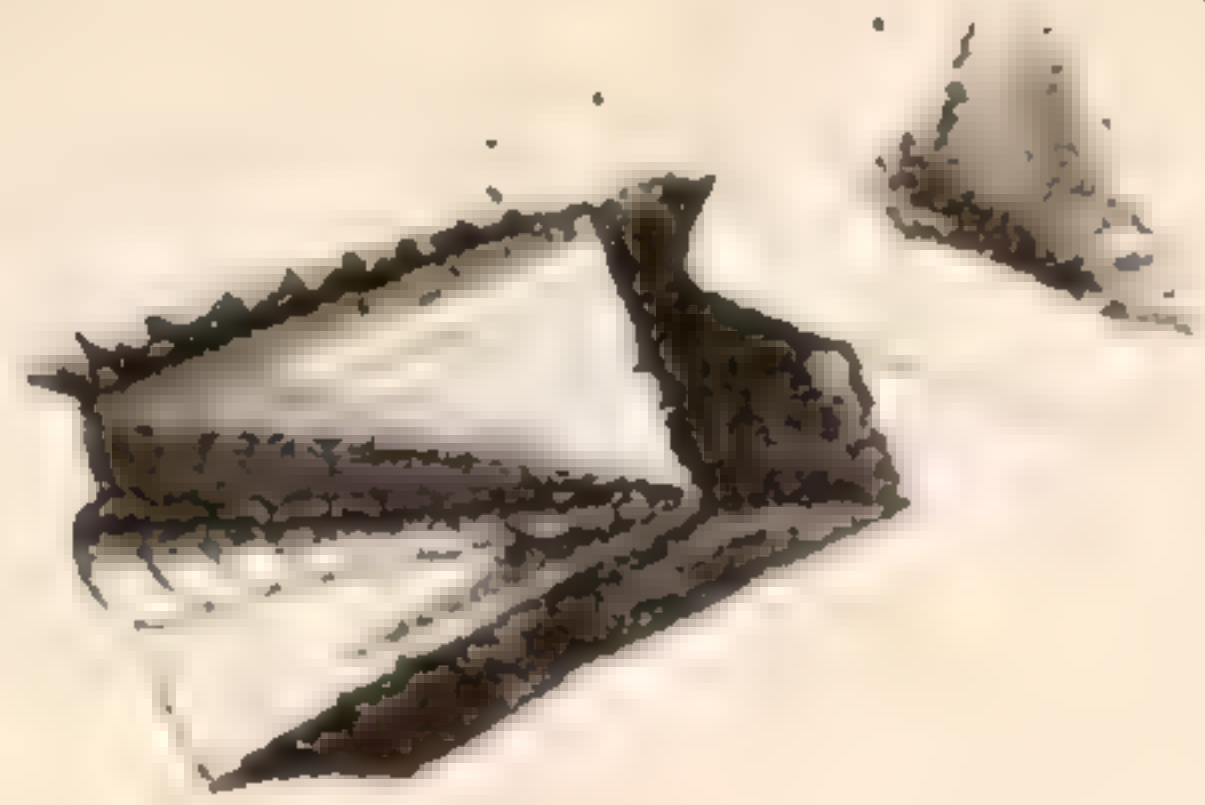
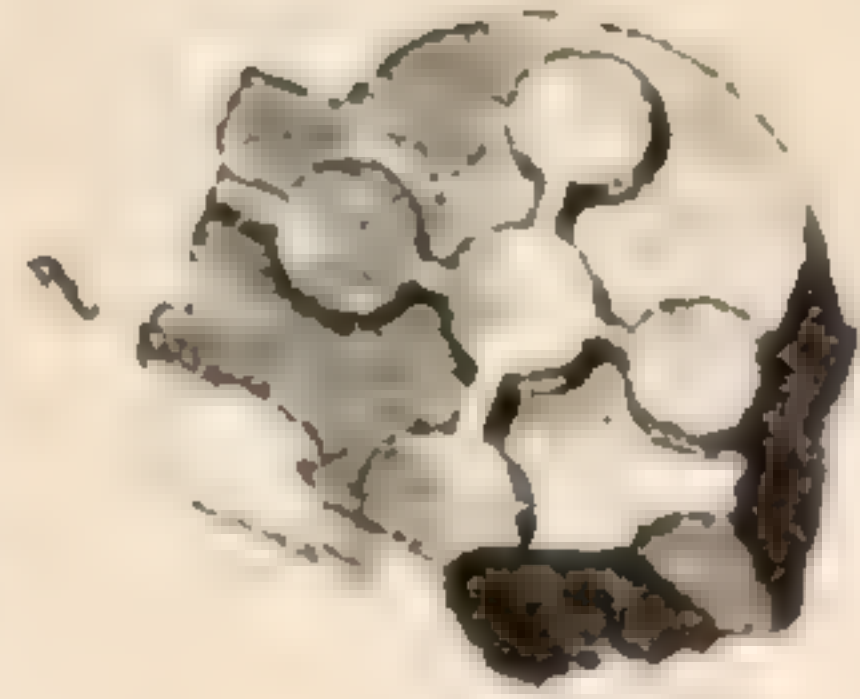
Quite distinct from these stones, which originally lay flat on the ground, were found others, which we should term head and foot stones: unlike the tall modern ones, which are sometimes too scanty for a list of all the virtues of the departed, these head-stones stood about two feet and a half high, two feet wide, and nine or ten inches thick, semi-circular-headed, with a simple cross rudely cut in relief, but without inscription of any kind. The foot-stone was similar, but smaller, and also had the simple cross upon it. Both are formed of the fine sandstone of the country—as indeed was all the church—which may be dug to any amount at the distance of about a mile.

Not a figure has been seen on any stone to mark its date, but several retain the brown dust of the moss of ages upon them, which moss must have been acquired by lying in the old churchyard, prior to the erection of the church; and as that appears to have been before Domesday, some may be even British. Neither has any foundation stone been discovered, but as the lower part of the south walls has not been removed, it may possibly still be there concealed.

The west gable of the nave seems to have been rebuilt

STEDHAM CHURCH.

Fig 1.



Figures 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, from west gable & Wall of Nave - Figures 3, 4, 5, 6 from End Wall of Nave.

Drawn & Printed by Leighton & Co. Limited, London.

(probably when the porch, a work dated 1670, was erected) partly with broken gravestones out of the churchyard, specimens of which I subjoin (fig. 1, 2).

With regard to the paintings, they had been covered up and written upon with the usual texts from Scripture, perhaps at the time of the rebellion, and these again superseded by others, about a century ago; but in some places those now described, which may date from 1450 to 1500, appear to have supplanted others of yet older date. Of those on the north wall, one may represent St. Ursula; but as her symbol, the arrow, is not visible, and the figures on each side of her appear to be males, rather than females, perhaps it may symbolise the church as the bride of Christ, who is placed near, surrounded by the instruments of the crucifixion, the emblems of the eucharist, and the scales.

Another is St. Christopher, carrying the infant Saviour across the river, supporting his steps on an uprooted palm, being lighted by the hermit, standing in a niche and holding a lantern.

The fourth is the Last Judgment, broken in upon by a comparatively modern window.

The subjects on the south wall are—St. George slaying the Dragon; beneath which are three figures, which may be representations of the “three Marys,” which subject appears to have been executed in a manner superior to the rest, and more like actual fresco. The remainder, from the difficulty of separating whitewash from damp plaster, was too imperfect to make out.

On the east, being the tower wall, were the Ten Commandments, printed on the plaster, in black, with red capitals, in old English character, probably done at the time the tower was rebuilt; but of course there is no design beneath them.

The paintings have been so amply treated by another hand, as to make further comment here unnecessary.

EXTRACTS FROM ACCOUNT-BOOKS OF THE
EVERENDEN AND FREWEN FAMILIES,

IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.

AMONG the MSS. belonging to Thomas Frewen, Esq., of Brickwall, Northiam, are two Account Books of his family, in the seventeenth century, which contain many entries of interest to Sussex men. They come down to the same period as the Diary of the Rev. Giles Moore (*Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. I); but they commence at a period much earlier. With Mr. Frewen's permission I have made extracts for our Society.

The first book came into his family by the marriage of Mary Everenden with the Rev. Thomas Frewen, rector of Northiam, temp. Charles II. There are a few items in the years 1586, 1592, and 1609; but they are unimportant till we reach the accounts of John Everenden, of Sedlescombe, gentleman, who married Mary, sister of William White, of Brickwall, and who was on such friendly terms with his neighbours, the Sackvilles, that we find in April, 1626, an entry—"Spent at London, at Snt. George's Feast, when I waited on the Earle of Dorset, £15. 10s 8d." The accounts of Mr. John Everenden commence in March 1618-9, and end 14th July, 1660; the years from 1632 to 1643 are imperfect. The remainder of the book contains the accounts of his son Walter, who was a justice of the peace. His accounts commence Oct., 1661, and continue till July, 1678. We have thus a perfect account of the expenses of Sussex gentry farming their own land for nearly sixty years. The following account of stock and crops in 1618 is of considerable worth, as showing the value of stock and the modes of farming and cropping in those days, and how large a proportion of stock was kept.

Mr. J. Everenden owned and occupied 14 pieces of land in Sedlescombe, containing together 84 acres, of which $5\frac{1}{2}$

were woodland; and for the sake of pasturage he rented 30 acres of marsh land in Padiham and Dimsdale marshes next Winchelsea.

A note¹ of all the stock which, by the grace of God, I do possess, taken the 5th of March, 1618.

Imprimis, of my older store of ewes in the marsh, 118; and of young ewes, 24; in all, 142; worth £93. 6s. 8d. Itt. of store wethers, 20: of young wethers and young rams, 30; of store rams, 9; in all, 59, worth £40. Itt. of fatting wethers, 20, worth £22. Itt. of lambs of all sorts, 95, worth £57. Itt. of old ewes, 12, worth £8. Itt. ram, 1, worth 13s. 4d.

On 5th Oct., 1648, his "tale of sheep" was, store wethers, 107; store ewes, 123; fatting wethers, 96; fatting ewes, 33; rams and riggs, 16; young ewes at Dimchurch, 77; lambs brought home, 216, viz., wethers, rams, and riggs, 111; and ewe lambs, 105. His fleece wool this year was sold to a stapler at Cranbrook for 1s. a pound, and produced £87; and his lamb's wool to his brother-in-law, Caleb Courthop, of Cranbrook, at 3s. 4d. per quarter, and produced £9. 3s. 4d.

His other stock, in March 1618, is thus entered:—

Itt. 4 oxen, worth £22. Itt. 6 kine, worth £24. Itt. 3 yearlings, worth £8. Itt. 1 bull, worth £4. Itt. 2 geldings, worth £16. Itt. 1 young mare, worth £10. Itt. 6 hogs, worth £2. 8s. Itt. 1 old black mare, worth £4. 6 acres of wheat, worth £24. Itt. 7½ acres appointed for oats, worth £10, making a total of £345. 8s. Itt. more for my part of the lease in the marsh, worth £66.

This year he had 24½ acres of grass mown; in the next year he had 21¼ acres of grass mown, 8 acres of wheat and 10 acres of oats; and the whole value of his stock, &c. was £411. 10s. 8d. He paid 1¼d. a rod for hedging; 4d. a rod for scouring the marsh ditches; 3d. a rod for making a new hedge and ditch; 8d. per 100 for gathering and setting quicksets; 7s. 6d. a quarter's wages to his servant Elizabeth Coffin; to his man John Farnham, £1. 2s. a quarter, and 1d. a piece for catching moles; £4. 10s. a half year for the looker of his sheep in the marsh; 1s. 9d. for 9 score of broom fag-gots, which were laid in his wheat (the common method of draining in East Sussex till very recently); 2s. 6d. for a boy

¹ The spelling of this account is modernised.

driving a plough for 9 days ; 1s. a seam² for thrashing ; 7s. to the hemp-dresser for 14 nail³ of hemp-dressing, which lost in the dressing 28lb. ; £1. 18s. for reaping 10 acres of wheat, and 2s. a day for binding sheaves ; 8d. per acre for mowing grass ; 1s. an acre for mowing oats ; 3s. for a week's work of a common out-of-door labourer ; 1s. 4d. to a woman for help in haying time, to her 5 children 1s. 3d. ; 1s. 2d. to the wife of Geo. Baker for shearing 28 sheep !! to Thos. West for 1 week's haying, 2s. ; 6s. for a man and his boy three days' thatching ; to the goodwife Sheather making a ruff-band, 18d. and for schooling his children ; together, 2s. 2d. ; £1. a year afterwards for the schooling of his daughter Elizabeth ; and £2. a year for his son Walter's education ; £1. for a load of charcoal ; 5s. 6d. for a cord⁴ of wood bought ; 1s. a cord for cutting wood ; 16s. a thousand for bricks ; 13s. 4d. per 1000 for tiles, and 8d. a 100 for paving-tiles ; 13s. 4d. a load for lime at Fairlight. His poor-rate was 10s. each quarter in Sedlescombe. Marl and lime were used for manure. In 1622 there are receipts for wood of 14 years' growth, used for hop-poles.

The second book is the ledger of Benjamin Frewen, son of the Rev. John Frewen, rector of Northiam, by his second wife ; he was a haberdasher : and of his brother Stephen, who was a skinner ; both in London. The eldest son by the first wife was Accepted Frewen, archbishop of York 1660 to 1664. The book commences 5th January, 1631. On the cover is written—"In my beginning God be my good ly[fe] in grase @ venture to prosper.—BEN. FREWEN."

Reseved of my masters for my brother Thankfull,⁵ the
some of ioi ii o

Dell. to Mr. William Weld, y^e 9th of January, 1631 :

It. for a fine black bever lynd head, and for a gould band			
2 it	3	4	0
It. for a fine colerd felt, lynd, and a thick gould and silver band	0	16	0

² Eight bushels, or a horse-load, are a seam.

³ Eight pounds are a nail : the term is common in West Sussex and Hampshire.

⁴ A stack of pieces of wood, for fuel, arranged in a double 4ft. cube, i. e. 8ft. by 4ft. and 4ft. thick.

⁵ There are other items for his brother Thankfull, and his brothers Thomas and Joseph.

Dell. 2 Mr. Edward Bridges y^e 28th February, 1631 :

It. dying y^e bever and mending y^e lynning 0 1 6

Layd out for Richard :

It. for a payer of stockinges ij^s iiij^d

It. for a payer of hose and 3 bandes vij^s ij^d

It. for a payer of worsted garteres x^d

It. for a black bever and a band ix^s

Dell. 2 Mr. John Fould y^e 7th January :

It. for a fine black bever, lyned, and a black silke bande for
y^r sealfe⁶ 3 10 0

14th May, 1632 : It. for a black fealt and a black silke
band for my cosen Cadman 0 5 0

Dell. to Mr. Gasners y^e ii of September, 1632 :

It. for a color'd fealt, lynd in y^e brimes and last wth. a
silver case 0 12 0

Dell. Mr. Gibbes, Knight, of Winsor Casill, this 13th
of Desember, 1632 :

It. for a black fealt lynd head and a black silke bande for
y^e same 0 6 0

Dell. 2 the Right Worth Sir Edward Burton, this 18th
of November, 1632 :

It. for a fine colerd fealt, lynd in the head, for y^r sealfe . . . 0 18 0

It. for lase band 0 2 0

It. for mending y^e sattin 0 0 6

Dell. 2 Mr. Moneyfill, this 9th of February, 1632 :

It. for a black fealt, lynd in the head, for y^r wife 1 2 0

It. for a fine black fealt, lynd in the head, for y^r sealfe . . . 0 14 0

It. for a box 0 0 6

It. for a fine strawe hat, lynd in y^e brimes 1 4 0

It. for a black silke band 2 the bever 0 2 0

Dell. to the Worth Captin Whitte, Justis of pease, this
9th March, 1632 :

It. for a fine black fealt, lynd, and a black silke band
nowe putt 0 17 6

Mr. Kinsey's is to be sent to the carrier at "y^e Talbot in Southwark, who
goes away every Thursday at 11 o'clock, to Buxted, in Sussex."

Several entries relate to bonds for sums due, and among
them, on the 8th April, 1632, is a bond from Samuill Boyse,
citizen and grocer, whereby he bound himself to pay to

⁶ This was about the usual price for the best.

Mr. B. Frewen 33s. "upon his first demand after my day of marridg or my day of death."

Thus far the book is principally in the handwriting of Mr. Benj. Frewen; after this it seems to have fallen into the hands of his brother, Mr. Stephen Frewen, the skinner, whose accounts fill the remainder of the volume.

Octo. y^e 24th, 1637: My Lorde Cheefe Justis Bramston:

It. for puttinge y ^e fures into y ^r skarlott robes	00 05 00
— for puttinge your fures into your skarlott robes and mending y ^e purpell	00 06 00
— putting y ^r fures into y ^r blake robes	00 05 00

My Lorde Finch, Octo. 1637:

It. for puttinge your fures into your skarlott robes	00 05 00
It. for puttinge your fures into your purpell robes	00 05 00

Similar items in 1637 for the robes of Justice Croly (Crawly), Baron Weston, and in 1638 Justice Vernon, and in Nov. 1637 there is a charge for mending the robes of Baron Trower.

Mr. Waineforde, Atornie of y^e Courte of Wardes:

It. for facinge your gowne with marton	09 03 00
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The Right Worf^t Forsterbye:

It. for 6 dozen and 3 fichies skines to lynd your coate, at 18 ^s per dozen	05 12 6
It. for workemans tyme, and silke	00 08 00
It. Stockinge	00 03 00
It. to y ^e taylor	00 01 6

28th January, 1637: Lent unto sister Bigg monies, and several entries of transactions with her.

1638, May 21: P ^d to Mr. Yorke for my bro Th(ankfull), ⁷ to make up my mother Frewen's monyes	02 10 06
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Mr. Walter Couentrye,⁸ Octo. 1638:

It. for mending your suite of marttenes and dooing y ^r gowne	00 10 00
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31st Dec. 1638, he bought 425 lbs. weight of beaver, at 11s. 6d. a pound; 94 lbs. at 10s.; and 12½ lbs. at 9s. a lb.; for ready money; making a total of £297.

⁷ There are other items for his brother Thankfull, and books for John and Thomas. John Frewen was alderman 1647, and his son Thomas married, 1656, Judith, daughter of John Wolsterstone, of Fulham.

⁸ Brother to the Lord Keeper and ancestor of the present Lord. Thankfull Frewen was secretary to the Keeper. There is an original portrait of the Keeper at Northiam.

On 14th January, 1638, he bought 302 lbs of new beaver, at 12s. a lb.—£181, 4s.; and 342 lbs. of old at 14s. a lb.—£238. 14s.

Mr. Justis Reeve,⁹ Maye, y^e 1638 :

It. for furinge your sute of purpell robes, with minifur and armenes	05 00 00
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Mr. Baron Henden,¹⁰ January 18, 1638 :

It. for furinge your three sutes of robes, ye skarlett, purpell, and blake, with minifur and armenés	15 00 10
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Sold to Mr. Suiger, skinner, Octo. 1639 :

Five Vergenye foxe skines, att 2s. 6d. per skin	00 12 06
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Octo. 26, 1639 : Mr. Cowellhirst,¹¹ in St. Laurence lane :

It. for a face of baggr and dooinge your gowne	01 10 00
--	----------

1639, Oct. 26th, there are charges for putting the furs into the robes of Justices Reeve and Crawly, my Lord Finch, Mr. Baron Weston, Mr. Baron Henden, and my Lord Bramston.

Mr. Marten, at Baron Henden's, Dec. 1639 :

It. for a beare skin, musc perfumed	00 15 00
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Mr. Harde, taylor, Dec. 1639 :

It. for 6 dozen of fiches, att 18s. per dozen, to lynd Sir Francis Wortham's coate	05 08 00
It. for silke and workeman ship	00 10 00

Mr. Dockter Frewen,¹² Decem. 1639 :

It. for ten gall. of Canary sacke	02 07 10
— for ten gall. of clarett	01 03 04
— for a runlett hamper and porter :	00 03 02

⁹ Mr. Justice Reeve was made justice 14th March, 1638-9.

¹⁰ Mr. Baron Henden was made 21st January, 1638-9.

¹¹ For a common councillor's gown.

¹² His brother, Accepted Frewen, being canon of Christ Church, Canterbury, was installed dean of Gloucester, and thence removed to the deanery of Wells, and was successively bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and archbishop of York. He was elected archbishop 22d Sept. 1660; confirmed in Hen. VIIIth's Chapel, Westminster, 4th Oct., and enthroned by proxy 11th Oct. He died 28th March, 1664, and being brought into York, his body, 30th April, 1664, lay in state at a house in the Close of the Minster (Lansd. MSS., No. 986, p. 52); and in Add. MSS., No. 12,514, p. 314, is an entry of the following fees paid for his funeral to Sir Edw. Walker, Knt. Garter:—to Garter, in lieu of all fees, £40; for transportation to York and back, at 12d. the mile, £15; for four officers of arms, each at £30, £120; and to each of them, for transportation, at 6d. the mile, £7. 10s., £30: making a total of £205.

My Lorde Cheefe Justis Lyttelton, January, 1639 :

It. for furinge your purpell robes with minifur and armenes	08 00 00
— for furinge your skarlett robes	08 00 00

The charge for Mr. Justice Foster's robes at the same time was only £5. each.

Sold to Henry Byg, y ^e 10th of March, 1639, ten hundred and a halfe of bl. rabetes, at 18s. per the hundred	09 09 00
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Mr. Downing, skiner, Septem. 1640 : ¹³

It. for three dozen of Rusher squirelles	00 09 00
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Mr. Haynes :

For a wilde catte skin	00 03 00
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July ye 10th, 1640 :

Sente by goodman Willshire to Rusheir,	
6 p ^r of imbro. bl. gloves, att 10 shill. the p ^r	03 00 00
7 p ^r of goulde imbro. gloves, att 4 shill. the p ^r	01 08 00
3 p ^r of blake imbro. hangers	00 15 00
3 p ^r of goulde and sillver garteris	06 00 00

April, 1640 : My Lorde Finch, Lorde Keeper.

It. for furinge your barones robes w th armenes, for mending your oulde minifur, to lynnyng	10 00 00
For 2 p ^r of sabulles for a cape, and mending your gowne	04 00 00

April, 1640 : My Lorde Bishoppe of St. Asaph, Dockter Owen :

It. for furinge your robe with minifur	05 00 00
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The same charge for the lord bishop of Hereford.

April, 1640 :

My Lorde Bishoppe of Rochester, Dockter Warner :

For furinge your robe with minifur	04 10 00
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The same charge for the lord bishop of Bangor.

Mr. Sherife Tower, September, 1640 :

It. for furinge your skarlett gowne with 22 skines of sabull bakes	25 00 00
It. for furinge your violett gowne with sabull footes	10 00 00
It. for lynnyng your skarlett and purpell hood with English squirell skines	09 00 00
It. for facing your blake gowne with martene bakes	08 00 00
For a stumechor of wilde cattskine	00 06 00

¹³ He speaks this year, 1640, of a payment for his mother Frewen, of his brother Joseph, and of his cousins Stollorde and Mucknoll, and Stephen Fagg.

October, 1640.¹⁴ Items for putting the fur into the robes of Lord Bramston, Lord Littleton, Justices Crawly and Foster, Barons Henden and Weston.

Similar items in 1641 for Lord Banks, Crawly, Foster, Henden, Weston, and Lord Bramston.

My Lady Finches Gentleman Usher, Dec. 1640 :

For one wilde cattskin	00 03 00
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November, 1641 :

Lente with my neighbours to the Kinges Majestie for Ierland the some of ten pounce for my part	10 00 00
Lente with my neighbours the 29th of November, 1642, for the parliament's use ¹⁵ the sum of five pounce	05 00 00
It. for a month pay for sowlders	02 00 00
Lente for the half of the 50 subsidies	13 06 08

There are entries of adventures of furs to Amsterdam and the East Indies ; to Virginia of 15 books of calico,¹⁶ worth 16s. a book ; to the Canaries of 5 gross of statute lace, at 6s. the gross.

"Cozen Bluekoller, June y^e 26, 1642 :

For one otter skin mufe	00 13 00
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The Bishop of Rochester, Hobon, 1648 :

For lyning his close gowne throo w th bl. lambe skin, 5 dozen in it	03 10 00
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1647. Sowld to Watt White, July y^e 16th :

200 and 7 dozen and 4 blake conie skines att y ^e prise of 4l. and 15s. y ^e hundred	12 19 8
More 8 otter skines att 7s. per skin	02 16 00

Captain Kinge, September y^e 29th, 1649 :

For two dozen of English fox skines att 3s. 6d. p ^r skin	04 04 00
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Thankfull Frewen died in London, 1656, and was carried to Northiam.¹⁷ The following are the items :—

¹⁴ He mentions, in 1640, uncle Prince, his cosen Lawson, and Edward Boys ; the latter borrowed monies. In August 1641, there are payments for his brother Thankfull ; and in July 1641, his cosens John Carpenter and Bye are named.

¹⁵ The loyalty of Stephen Frewen seems to have been as sound as that of his brother Accepted ; for it will be seen, that whilst the parliament received £5. the king got £10.

¹⁶ A book is a piece of twenty yards long and of the width of one yard.

¹⁷ "1656, December. Mr. Thankfull Frewen's corps (sometime clerk to Thomas Lord Coventry) carried through London, to be interred in Sussex. He was brother to the Archbishop of York." (Smith's Obituary, Camden Soc. Pub., p. 43.)

P ^d to Will Bigg by order from y ^e Dockter	12 00 00
P ^d more for y ^e hearse and coch, y ^e hearse 4 daies, and coch 6 daies, both of them 6 horses a pease	10 00 00
P ^d for y ^e coffin	03 00 00
P ^d to the comfitt maker ¹⁸	02 04 6
P ^d for gloves and ribbon	08 00 00
P ^d for ——— and lynkes	00 11 00

In 1661 we have this item :

Bought this 23d of July, 1661, of Mr. Frewen, one sute of
Rushaer fuer for a bishop's robe at 6 00 00

Stephen Frewen was elected alderman of the Vintry ward
5th July, 1664, and paid his fine of £313. 6s. 8d.

June y^e first, 1670 : Bought and paid to Mr. Tho. Patten,
for 53 Welch catell, y^e hee delivered att Northiam
for me 202 10 0

44 runtes att £3. 16s. 6d. per peece; 4 oxen att £4. 05s. 0d. p^r peece;
2 oxen at £5. 00s. 0d. p^r peece; 1 steere 3 years ould, £1. 18s 0d.;
2 bulls at £2. 15s. 0d. p^r peece.

1664. Nov. y^e 17th: R^d £1000. which I lent to y^e Company of
Skiners.

Lent to the Company of Skiners y^e 16th of Nov. 1664, upon bond £500.

'This was repaid in 1678.¹⁹

In 1666 he bought Brickwall for £4000.

The book ends 24th January, 1677-8. It contains a few
notices of the burials and baptisms of Mr. Stephen Frewen's
family, in St. John the Baptist church, London.

¹⁸ This was a large sum to expend in comfits, which were frequently distributed to the mourners at funerals. (See Brande's 'Popular Antiq.', ed. Ellis, vol. ii, p. 242, quoting 'Whimsies, or a new Cast of Characters,' 1631, where the author says, "so much she hath reserved out of the labours of her life, as will buy some small portion of diet-bread *comfits* and burnt claret, to welcome in her neighbours, now at her departure.")

¹⁹ These loans were probably the benefit conferred on the Skinners' Company, for which they presented him with the nautilus drinking-cup, silver gilt, now at Cold-Overton Hall, Leicestershire. The clerk (T. G. Kensit, Esq.) has kindly searched the books of the Company for me, and has been unable to find any entry respecting this piece of plate; but it appears that Stephen Frewen, who was born 1600, was admitted to his freedom of the Company, 6th June, 1622; and was elected master on the 15th June, 1665.

SIR BEVIS OF HAMPTON AND HIS HORSE 'ARUNDEL.'

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

(READ AT THE ARUNDEL MEETING, 1849.)

"Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit FABULIS quoque."

Plin. Epist. viii, 24.

AMONG the romantic traditions of Sussex which have become almost obsolete, that of Sir Bevis of Southampton and his horse Arundel was once conspicuous. "Bevis," says the Rev. Mr. Gilpin (in his observations on the Coast of Hants, Sussex, and Kent), "was a giant of antient times, whose prowess was equal to his size. He was able to wade the channel of the sea to the Isle of Wight, and frequently did it, for his amusement :

. ' graditur per aequor
Jam medium, nec dum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.'

Great, however, as Bevis was, he condescended to be warder at the gate of the earls of Arundel, who built a tower for his reception, and supplied him with two hogsheads of beer every week, a whole ox, and a proportional quantity of bread and mustard. It is true the dimensions of the tower are only adapted to a man of moderate size ; but such an inconsistency is nothing when opposed to the traditions of a country."

In ages when the love of the marvellous outweighed all considerations of reason and common sense, it would have availed little to deny the truth of this wondrous legend to the burgesses of the good town of Arundel. *Bevis Tower* sturdily maintained its ground as irrefragable evidence of it. Nor was this all ; for the hero's greatest achievements were coupled with his good sword *Morglay*, and his extraordinary steed, the horse *Arundel*. Now the sword was to be seen and

handled in the armoury of the castle; and as to the horse, why the very town itself bore his name! Furthermore, a mound in the park was pointed out as the giant's grave.¹ What a long and indisputable chain of proofs!

The belief in the history of this hero was not restricted to the vulgar, for even the learned continuator of Camden, while he disallows the etymology which derives the name of the town from "Bevosius's Romantick Horse," seems to credit the notion that Bevis may have been the founder of the castle. He adds that the people of Arundel contend that our hero's horse, "Arundel, might as well have the honour of naming a town wherein his master had a particular interest, as Alexander's *Bucephalus* had of a city!"

Our own Selden, in his Notes to the 'Polyolbion' (Canto the Second), says: "About the Norman Invasion was Bevis famous with the title of earl of Southampton; Duncton, in Wiltshire, known as his residence. His sword is kept at Arundel castle; not equalling in length (as it is now worn) that of Edw. III, at Westminster." Dr. Heylyn, again, in his 'Help to English History,' under earls of Southampton, and date 1067, mentions "Beauvois of Hampton, that famous soldier so much talked of." There is not, however, a shadow of evidence that there was any earl of that name, and the whole legend may be regarded as an accommodation to local circumstances of the famous medieval Romance of Sir Bevis.

The story of Bevis, which has been rendered familiar to many by the abstract in 'Ellis's English Metrical Romances' is briefly this:—Sir Bevis was the son of Sir Guy, earl of Southampton, a man of great renown; his mother, who was a Scottish princess, proved faithless to her lord, and with the assistance of her paramour, one Sir Murdour, compassed his death. Bevis, at that time only seven years old, resented the foul deed; in consequence of which he was hurried off to a sea-port and there delivered to the captain of a ship, who carried him into Heathendom, and sold him to a Saracen king called Ermyn.

Sir Bevis's youthful valour and accomplishments gained him the favour of the Saracen monarch, who made him his

¹ This tumulus was opened some years since without any satisfactory result.

chamberlain, and afterwards his standard-bearer; while his daughter, the princess Josyan, fell deeply in love with him. After several most marvellous feats, such as killing in succession sixty knights with whom he had quarrelled on the subject of Christianity, and destroying a wild boar that fed upon human flesh, he sets out with 20,000 men against the king of Damascus, and upon this occasion the fair Josyan gives him the good sword *Morglay* and the fleet horse *Arundel*, which are associated with most of his subsequent achievements; he obtains a splendid victory, and returning to Ermyn's Court, Josyan, unable to conceal her passion, boldly makes love to him. Bevis, however, rejects her suit because she is a follower of false gods; whereupon she expresses her willingness to become a Christian, if Bevis will return her love; this he does accordingly, and mutual vows of fidelity and constancy follow.

But the "course of their true love," was not destined to "run smooth," for Ermyn hearing of his daughter's apostacy, and understanding the cause of it, revenges himself by sending Bevis on a dangerous embassy to Bradmund, king of Damascus, the very monarch over whom he had so lately obtained a victory. Bradmund immediately gives orders that he be cast into a dungeon occupied by two dragons. Bevis, after a hard struggle, succeeds in killing the dragons, but is compelled to remain a prisoner for seven tedious years; his deliverance being ultimately effected by the aid of an angel. Meantime Josyan, sorely against her inclination, is wedded to Inor, king of Mounbraunt, who immediately afterwards mounts the horse Arundel to return to his own court, attended by his bride and a numerous cavalcade. Arundel, however, faithful to his lawful owner, throws Inor an ugly fall, which breaks his back. At length, on his release from prison, Bevis seeks his affianced fair one, whom he carries off, with a determination to proceed at once to England, upon his favourite Arundel. On their way they are attacked by the giant Ascapard, whom Bevis, *a la* Robin-Hood, subdues and makes his servant. On reaching the sea, they seize a vessel and proceed to Cologne, where Bevis's uncle is bishop; and where the faithful Josyan receives Christian baptism.

At Cologne Sir Bevis slays a dragon of such a formidable

species that the giant Ascapard (who was thirty feet in height) had fled from him in dismay, and no one less powerful than St. Michael was supposed to be a match for him. After this exploit, the bishop gives his nephew a hundred gallant knights to attend him to England, where Bevis is engaged in asserting his right to the earldom of Southampton; when an untoward event occurs to his lady, Josyan, which causes his return to Cologne. In his absence a powerful earl, named Sir Mile, had made love to her, resolving to take no denial. Josyan had therefore engaged to marry him, and had seized an opportunity of hanging him in her chamber. For this deed she had been condemned to be burnt alive. Bevis arrives at this crisis, and with the aid of giant Ascapard releases the fair one, and, placing her behind him upon the horse Arundel, reaches the Isle of Wight in safety.

Sir Bevis soon afterwards attacks his false step-father Sir Murdour, kills him, and takes possession of his rightful inheritance. The burgesses of Southampton receive him with open arms, and at length his marriage with Josyan is duly solemnized.

Sir Bevis now proceeds to the court of King Edgar to receive the investiture of his earldom, which he readily obtains. But in an evil hour, the king's son sets his heart upon the good steed Arundel, and resolves to steal him; but on his entering the stable for that purpose, the horse gives him a kick which scatters his brains upon the ground. King Edgar, inconsolable for the loss of his son, resolves to be revenged upon Sir Bevis, and orders him to be hung, drawn, and quartered. His barons, however, exculpate Bevis and propose to kill the horse instead; but the earl, unwilling to lose so valuable an ally, compromises the affair by making over his estates and quitting the kingdom.

Adventures as numerous and as remarkable as those already recounted awaited the hero abroad. Not the least remarkable event in his subsequent history is his accession to the throne of his father-in-law, Ermyn, and to that of his quondam rival, King Inor, and the conversion of both states to the Christian faith. Returning afterwards to England, he sued King Edgar for the restoration of his English estates and dignities: but a misunderstanding arising, a great battle took place at London

between the king and Sir Bevis, in which 60,000 men perished. A reconciliation followed, however, and, to cement it, Edgar gave his only daughter and heiress in marriage to Mile, son of Sir Bevis, who *in her right became king of England!!!* As to Sir Bevis himself, he returned to Asia, where the faithful Josyan soon died. By a remarkable coincidence the horse died in his stable at the same moment; and Bevis, unable to sustain the double shock, yielded, a few minutes afterwards, to irrevocable fate, and expired upon the lips of his deceased wife. Their remains were interred under the high altar of a church erected to their honour, and dedicated to St. Lawrence, where they continued, at the writing of the legend, to work frequent miracles.

“ God on their souls have now pity,
And on *Arundel* his good steed,
Giff men for horse shoulde sing or read!
Thus endeth Sir Bevis of Hamptoun,
That was so noble a baroun.”

So ends the celebrated medieval romance, upon which one or two very brief remarks will suffice. First, it will be observed that no mention whatever of the town of Arundel occurs in it; the connection of the hero with the town, therefore, rests upon two very slender circumstances—the identity of the name of the town with that of the hero's horse, and the existence of a tower in the castle called Bevis Tower. Whether his name was given to the tower to support a tradition connecting this locality with the exploits of the Southampton worthy, it is difficult to say. There was a family of distinction who bore the name of Bevis in the 13th century, and it is still a common name in Sussex. It will be recollected that at the battle of Lewes, in 1264, Richard, king of the Romans, brother of Henry III, was taken prisoner by a John Bevis,² who was knighted for the exploit. On the whole, it is not improbable that some *real person*, and not a romantic hero, conferred his name on this tower.

Secondly, the name of Bevis's horse, as well as most of the proper names in the romance, is corrupt French, which shows the source of this marvellous tale. *Arundel* is clearly from

² Vide Blaauw's 'Barons' War,' p. 181.

‘*hirondelle*,’ a swallow ; and it is worthy of a passing notice that the noble family of Arundel, who derived their name from this town, bear six swallows in their arms, and that the armorial ensign of the town itself is a swallow. *Swallow* is a very appropriate name for a swift black horse, and has frequently been so applied. It was the name of the steed of Hereward the Saxon, the gallant and patriotic opponent of the Conqueror ;³ and it is a somewhat curious fact, that to this day, in Sussex, many a heavy waggon-horse, by a humorous *antiphrasis*, bears this very name of Swallow.

³ Wright’s ‘Essays on the Literature, &c. of the Middle Ages,’ vol. ii, p. 108.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF
WILMINGTON PRIORY AND CHURCH.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MILES COOPER.

THE suppression of the alien priories so early as the year 1414 has rendered the evidences relating to them much more scanty and unsatisfactory than those of the monastic establishments dissolved in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Possibly, too, their subordinate character, as dependencies upon larger and more important houses, may have caused their proceedings to be less minutely noted and less carefully preserved; whilst the circumstances of their belonging to foreign abbeys, where the records concerning them would be partly kept, has doubtless contributed to render such monuments more inaccessible than they might otherwise have been.

Certain it is that, from these or other causes, very few details of information are, so far as I can find, to be obtained respecting them; the names of their priors and even the number of their monks appear to be nowhere recorded; and little else is to be learnt of them than their first origin, the troubles which beset their comparatively brief existence, and their final extinction. Many curious and interesting particulars of their internal history and economy, which we would gladly know, and which monkish chronicles might have revealed, are now involved in impenetrable obscurity; and the documents to be found in our national archives only make known to us the repeated interferences they met with from the strong hand of power, issuing at last in their entire subversion and the application of their endowments to other purposes chiefly of a religious or charitable kind.¹

¹ To Mr. Blaauw, our Honorary Secretary, I desire, at the earliest moment, to make my fullest acknowledgments for transcripts of documents, which distance from London would have rendered otherwise with difficulty available to me, and for many valuable notices and remarks.

The alien priories owed their origin to that intimate connexion between England and Normandy which arose out of the conquest. Those vast domains which William bestowed upon his warlike barons, in some instances resembling principalities rather than the estates of private subjects, enabled them in turn to distribute their bounties with a lavish hand upon the friends and dependents whom they had left behind them; and in the prevailing spirit of that age a large portion of their liberality was conferred upon the religious houses in Normandy founded by themselves or their families. When foreign abbeyes thus acquired English property, it was customary with them to found cells or smaller and subordinate houses in England, for the residence of certain members of their fraternity, who acted at first as stewards, managing the estates and remitting to the parent abbey the net revenue. These small convents² observed the same rule as the houses from which they derived their institution, and were generally of the Benedictine order, which from the ninth century had acquired an almost universal ascendancy in western Europe.³ Some of them gradually became complete and independent bodies, electing their own priors, and applying the proceeds of the estates to their own use; only holding themselves still bound to remit to the house abroad a certain agreed sum, which might perhaps have been originally the actual surplus income. Others continued wholly dependent upon the foreign houses, who appointed and removed their priors at will, and received the entire revenues, after deducting the necessary expenses of maintenance and management.

Of this latter kind was the priory of Wilmington, a cell which belonged to the abbey of Grestein near Honfleur, in the diocese of Lisieux. That abbey, situate on the left bank of the Seine, and not far from its mouth, was one of those Norman houses which shared largely in the spoils of the

² It may give some idea of the extent of property thus held in England by foreigners, to observe, that an account is given in Sir H. Ellis's edition of the 'Monasticon,' of more than 120 of these "Alien Priories," so called as belonging to "alienigenæ."

³ Mosheim, cent. v, part ii, ch. ii, 6, 7.

conquest. It was founded⁴ in 1050, in honour of St. Mary, by Herluin Conte de Contaville, who married Herlewa (the Harlotta of English writers), and thus became step-father to the Conqueror, and father to Odo bishop of Baieux and Robert Earl of Moreton; built near a fountain where an oratory of high reputation had previously stood, and consecrated by Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, it rapidly advanced in wealth and celebrity. Robert so increased the number of its monks and added to the donations of his father, that by W. de Jumieges he is honoured with the title of its founder. His brother Odo also was a benefactor to the rising abbey; and Earl William, his son, added still farther to its endowments and retained the patronage till the forfeiture of his estates in 1106.

The grant by Earl Robert of the manor of Wilmington,⁵ with other portions of his English property, gave rise to the erection of the priory at this place. The exact date of its erection cannot be ascertained; but as the necessity of some such establishment would be early felt, we cannot be far wrong in fixing it towards the end of the eleventh century.

This manor, called "Wineltone" in Domesday, had before formed part of the extensive possessions of Godwin, earl of Kent, and had been held under him in three tenements by Alnod, Ulnod, and Ulstan, being then valued at £13.⁶ After

⁴ These particulars are taken from 'Gallia Christiana,' tom. xi, p. 842, where the most authentic account of the foundation of this abbey is to be seen. It may be interesting, perhaps, to add that Herluin was buried at Grestein, as also were Robert earl of Moreton and Mathilda (Montgomeri) his wife.

The 1st abbot put in by Herluin was Reginald à Rocher, a monk of St. Evreux, who was succeeded by

2. Gaufridus, a noble monk from Anjou; ob. 1114.

3. Fulco, who died in 1139: in his time the church was burnt, and begun again in 1122.

4. Herbert, a monk of Grestein; ob. 1179.

5. William de *Eronia*, a monk of Bec, who was so often in England, his native country, that the bishop complained of him to Pope Alexander, in 1185.

The dispute was ended by his translation to another monastery.

The subsequent history is not connected with England until 1365, when the convent was nearly razed to the ground by the English, in the wars of Edward III.

⁵ Besides his earldom of Moreton or Morteyne, in Normandy, Robert was earl of Cornwall, and possessed in England nearly 800 manors, of which 54 were in Sussex. William of Malmsbury describes him as a man of dull intellect: "crassi et hebetis ingenii homo" (iii, 50): the accidents of birth probably did more for him than his personal merit.

⁶ Domesday, T. 1, f. 21 b.

the defeat and death of Harold, it was given by William to his uterine brother, Robert, and of him held as a subfeudation by the abbot of Grestein, with certain other properties in Hants, Wilts, Northampton, and Suffolk.⁷

There are two charters of the abbey of St. Mary Grestein given in Dugdale; the one of 1^o Richard I, wherein are recited and confirmed the grants of the founder and of subsequent donors previously to 1189; the other an *inspeximus* charter of 9^o Edward II (1316), which embodies the confirmatory charter of King Richard, and confirms also the grants of certain additional benefactors made in the intervening period of 127 years. The possessions given to the abbots and monks in other parts of England we do not particularise, intending to confine our notice to those in Sussex.

These appear to be "Wilminton," granted by Earl Robert, with six hides of land in Ferles (Frog-Firle, in Alfriston); the house of Engelerius,⁸ in Pevenesel (Pevensey); and in his forest of Pevenesel pannage, herbage, and wood for building their churches and houses as well as for fuel. This grant of forest-rights is confirmed or renewed farther on by Richer de Aquila, a subsequent lord of Pevensey. The forest was of wide extent, running far into the interior of the country, and corresponding with what was afterwards called Ashdown. In later documents the abbot's forest-rights are stated to be in "Ashdonne," and these particular places are specified, Waldron, Laughton, Hellingly, and Hoathly. The earl's wife Mathilda gives two hides of land in Beddingham, and the church of that village. Earl William,⁹ their son, gives one yardland at Pevenesel, the monastery in Blaculverleigh (?), and two hides of land which Sagrim the priest held; in Goningeton (?) three hides and a half and the tithe; in Bibewick (?) one yardland and a half; in Telleton (Tilton, in Selmeston parish) one yardland; and in Hectone (Heighton)

⁷ The abbey had another cell on its manor of Cretyng (Creting), in Suffolk. Several other possessions besides Wilmington were held by it at the time of the Domesday survey, as may be seen.—T. i, f. 20b, f. 43b, f. 68b, f. 222b, and t. ii, f. 291, 2.

⁸ The earl is said in Domesday to have held in Pevensel "one house of 32*d*."

⁹ This nobleman, espousing the cause of Robert duke of Normandy, was made prisoner by Henry I, at the battle of Tenerchebray, A.D. 1106, and had his patrimony confiscated. He is described as a turbulent man, brave but perfidious. (W. Malm. 158, 7.)

three hides ; also half the fishpond at Langenega (Langney), and all the tithe of his own pond. He gives likewise the churches of Eastdean, Westdean, and Firle (West), with all their appertenances.

Other donors of humbler rank contribute to the wealth of the monastery. Alured¹⁰ the cupbearer gives all the tithes in his demesne at Cherletone (Charlston, in the parish of West Dean). He is followed by Earl William again, who gives at Middelton (now Milton, in Arlington), one hide of arable and half the meadow which is called "Turide."¹¹

Roger de Fraxineto ("Ashurst") grants iii acres of land in "Suptona" (Sutton, near Seaford), also Gara (?),¹² and all the tithe in his demesne. Roger de Brostone¹³ gives half a yardland in "Tedoorda,"¹⁴ and pasturage for fifty sheep "upon the mountains,"¹⁵ together with all that he held in fee at Russelac (Rushlake in the parish of Warbleton).

The tithe of his demesne in Berewic (Berwick) is given by Roger Marmion.¹⁶

Richard Fitz Haming is various in his benefactions—tithes of his lords-lands at Essetes (Exceit, in West Dean), Ferles, Sirintone (Sherrington, in Selmeston), and Clotintone ;¹⁷ three acres of land in "Harrop" (?); also the tithe of all his live

¹⁰ An Alured is mentioned in Domesday as having grass land, of 15*s.* 4*d.* annual value, in Pevensey : probably the same person and cupbearer (pincerna) to Earl William.

¹¹ Perhaps intended for "Tower-hide," as contiguous to Burlough Castle, which then stood in Milton, but of which the history is totally unknown. Its foundations were finally broken up a few years since, when the site was brought into tillage.

¹² This place (afterwards described as being "desuper Sudtonam") is now quite forgotten : Richard de la Gare was a witness to the charter of Michelham Priory, in 1232, and Luke de la Gare a warden of the marsh of Pevensey in 1290 ; "Guerre" seems to connect the name with that of "De la Warre."

¹³ Probably the same as "Bortone," mentioned in Domesday as in the same hundred with Warbleton, the parish in which Rushlake lies.

¹⁴ Supposed to be a piece of land, measuring 12*A.* 2*R.* 2*P.*, and now called the "Teddards," in the parish of Jevington. For this identification I am indebted to the ingenuity of Mr. W. Figg, of Lewes.

¹⁵ The travelled reader will smile to find our unpretending downs dignified by this title, but it is not without high modern authority, for Mr. Ray, the naturalist, classes them among mountains, and speaks of them with the highest admiration. (Vide 'Wisdom of God in the Creation,' part ii, p. 217.)

¹⁶ This name occurs in Foxe's List of those who were at the conquest of England.

¹⁷ This place is mentioned as in the hundred of Totenore, with Beddingham, Tilton, Sherrington, &c., but the name is now forgotten. (Domesday.)

stock,¹⁸ of poultry, lambs, pigs, cheeses; and pasturage for thirty sheep and three oxen, with the stock in his own keeping, free from every custom and service.

Hugh de Cahaigues¹⁹ (Keynes) gives four acres of land in Pevenescl. William Fitz Alfred four acres of land which Sefred before held near the church of "St. Mary de Pevenescl,"²⁰ on the west side.

William earl of Warenne²¹ grants his custom and freedom in Seaford from all things—viz. from lastage, portage, and passage, and from all other customs.

Richer de Aquila gives to the monks of Grestein the land and wood which lay in the manor of "Willendone," which Richard de Cultura had given to him; with the tithe of the mill in the same manor; their swine quit of pasnage; wood for their buildings, fencing, and firing, by view of his foresters; he also gives the briary ("bruaria," wild heathy ground), which he had at Bushy (Busheium), next to that which already belonged to them, viz., between the road which goes to Helesham, and that which comes to Bushy as far as North Ditch. All the tithes also of his demesne of the Casteltry of Pevenescl, in whatever manner the lands should be turned to profit; and a border of Bushy free and quit; and the tithe of his fishery before any part be taken thereout.

Several members of the family of Aquila were lords of Pevensey. This Richer was son of Gilbert, the first lord. Two of his brothers, Engenulph and Geffrey, perished in the disastrous wreck of the "Blanche Nef," on the 25th Nov. 1119, with Prince William and his half sister Maud. Having taken part in Normandy with the son of Duke Robert against Henry I, the king for some time refused him admission to his father's lands in England; but he was at length admitted upon the intercession of his uncle, Retro, earl of

¹⁸ "De omni pecunia"—pecun: in the sense of "pecudes." (See quotations from old charters in Ducange.)

¹⁹ Both this man and his father William were benefactors to Lewes Priory early in the 12th century. (*Sussex Archæological Collections*, I, 137.)

²⁰ Now the church of Westham, anciently part of Pevensey: the church of Pevensey is dedicated to St. Nicholas.

²¹ Probably William de Blois, son of K. Stephen, fourth earl of Warenne, who married Isabella, daughter of William, the third and last earl of the direct male line, and died in 1160.

Moreton. In 1127 he was again in arms for the purpose of restoring William Fitz Robert to his father's honour in Normandy, to the exclusion of Henry I; failing in which attempt his castle of Aquila in that country was burnt, and his lands in England escheated to the crown. Soon after the accession of Henry II, this turbulent baron was restored to his estates, and died possessed of them in 1176. In his old age he endeavoured, as we see, to quiet his conscience by the devotion of part of his property to pious uses. His son Gilbert married a sister of William Plantagenet, sixth earl of Warenne, and died young in 1205; and his grandson of the same name, in 1232, founded the Austin priory of Michelham, in the parish of Arlington. This family derived their name from the town of Aquila, so called because an eagle's nest was found there in an oak tree whilst the castle was building. (Addit. MS. Br. Mus. 6359, fol. 15).

In the second charter, that of 9^o Edw. II (1315-16), the above grants are recited and confirmed, and others of later date enumerated. The additions in Sussex appear to be—

A grant by Barringer Tyrel, of Westham, of ii acres of meadow in Bradewisse (Broadmarsh, in Pevensy Level). Remission and quitclaim by Ralph Alman²² and Thomas, son of Beatrice Peling, and Sara, formerly wife of William Cricket, of all their right and claim in the lands and tenements which William, son of Bruning de Peling, their uncle, held in Westham. A gift by Thomas "de la Cnock,"²³ of all his lands in that place; and in the same place remission and quitclaim by Nicholas, son of Ralph "de Firs" (or "Fris," meaning Friston), of all his right in vi acres of land which Ralph, his father, once held there.

Robert de Horstede gives all the tenements which he held in fee, viz., his land "de la Hoke" (the Hook?), and all his tenements in the parishes of St. Nicholas of Pevensell and St. Mary of Westhame, as well houses as arable lands.

Alan de Westham and Marjery his wife relinquish in favour

²² A Richard "Aleman" lived in Pevensy in 1340, and the family continued to reside there till the 17th century.

²³ A farm now called "Knock Hatch," in Arlington, and near Michelham Priory, to which it was given in the 13th century, by Sir John de Hay. (Charter of Michelham.)

of the monks all right in the lands and tenements which Richard de Peling held in Westham.

Of the benefaction of one who is styled "Paganus²⁴ de Cap." (Capella), and who gives a portion of tithe in Milton, I am bound to speak with personal gratitude; for in the vicissitudes of after-times it came to be annexed to the vicarage of Wilmington, and now forms nearly half of its endowment.

Another member of the De Aquila family, Richerinus, bestows on the convent a certain grazing-ground at Safort (Seaford); Jordan²⁵ de Saukevill, seven acres of land above Nattewood;²⁶ Walter de Ratetun (Ratton) gives land called Diepedene;²⁷ and William, son of Ralph Heringaud, ten acres of meadow in Wilindone.

Adam the cook ("Cuk") gives a rent of 12*d.*, which Thomas the smith, of Heylesham, used to pay him for a tenement in that place; and a rent of 4*d.*, derived from a mill there, with all his right in the said mill arising from the said rent. He also gives another rent of 20*d.*, thitherto paid to him by William Sortharin; and Richard, the son of "Adam le Cuke," ratifies his father's donations.

Ralph de Colevill relinquishes in favour of the convent all claim to the land he once held in "Jewington," excepting half an acre which lies next to the land of John Palmer.²⁸

In Wylyndon, Geoffrey, vicar of the church there, makes a grant of four acres of meadow-land; and Gervase, parson of Fokenton, a grant of 8*s.* rent. Hugh, son of Richard de Willendon, gives nine acres of land in that place—which donation is confirmed by Simon de Notingham; and William de Heyton one piece of land in Heyton.

By Emma, wife of "Rikeward" Postel, is given up all her right in the tenement which belonged in fee to the abbot and

²⁴ Latinised from 'payen,' a countryman. A Paganus was sheriff of Sussex, temp. Hen. II, about 1156.

²⁵ Jordan de Sackvill and Ralph Heringaud were connected by marriage. The former is one of the attesting witnesses to the charter of Michelham, in 1232.

²⁶ Nattewood, a small farm adjoining Folkington Wood, on the turnpike-road from Pole Gate to Hailsham.

²⁷ A name common to many of the larger valleys of the Downs.

²⁸ Philip le Palmere appears in the Subsidy Roll (1296) as taxed at 14½*d.*, "in villata de Jevington."

convent²⁹ in Telleton. Walter, son of Henry de Wolkested,³⁰ and Matilda his wife, make a similar surrender of a house also in Telleton. William de Burtune (or Bortone) gives one yard-land in Burtune and "Rislake;" and Henry Maltravers all the tithes and lands which they held of William, son of Alured,³¹ and land called Leffi (?) in Wilminton.

The grants of tithes which occur in these charters we may safely conclude were not gratuitous, but coupled with a condition of some local service to be rendered in church or chapel. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the limits of parishes were as yet undefined, many small buildings for religious uses were built and endowed by individual landowners. The country was thickly studded with what were variously called chapels, chantries, or oratories, beside the larger buildings set apart for public worship. Hence the frequent occurrence of the name "de Capella." These were endowed with portions of tithe; and when these portions were granted to a neighbouring religious house, it was in exchange for the services of a priest, to sing masses at stated times, and perform the other functions of the sacerdotal office. The tithes went into the exchequer of the monastery, and the priest was maintained out of the common stock, or perhaps had some fixed allowance. Parish churches, whose tithes were so granted, became vicarages, the convent receiving the tithe and providing a substitute (vicarius) for the rector, who received a small stipend for performing the duty. As times changed, and boundaries were better ascertained, the smaller edifices gradually disappeared, and the whole ministerial offices were, in most cases, transferred to what became at length the church for the whole parish.

Paganus' chapel has still a traditionary mention in Milton, but the site is not known. Probably it was in or near the manor-house, where some small remains of ancient building are yet to be seen, but not of an ecclesiastical character.

At Exceit the vestiges of a small building are distinctly perceptible on the hill towards Friston, known to the inha-

²⁹ Given them by earl William, of Moreton. (See first charter.)

³⁰ Walkstead, now a common in Lindfield, may perhaps have given their name to this family.

³¹ The cup-bearer before mentioned.

bitants as the site of a similar edifice. This chapel, or church, with its endowments, passed afterwards to the abbey of Bayham; probably through the good offices of Ela de Saukeville (originally "de Dene"), a great benefactress of that house. It was a rectory, to which the abbot and convent are recorded to have presented in 1401, 1402, and 1412. Early in the 16th century it was bought of them by Robert Sherburne, bishop of Chichester; and by an instrument, bearing date March 4, 1528, the parish of Excete was incorporated into that of West Dean, on account (as is therein alleged) of the fewness of its inhabitants, and their inability to rebuild and keep up the fabric of their church. In the survey of this coast, made in 1587, when the Spanish invasion was expected, it is marked as "the parish church;" but this must be understood to refer to the site of a building which had long ceased to exist; for, in the deed of incorporation above mentioned, preserved in the bishop's registry at Chichester, the church is spoken of as utterly destroyed, and as having been so for an unknown period: "*ecclesia parochialis quondam infra fines et limites parochie de Excete*"—"diruitur atque ad humum prostratur locusque siti ecclesie prophanatur et pro prophano habetur, sicque diruta et prostrata atque prophana *a tempore immemorato remansit*, sicque in presenti remanet." (The whole document is curious, as illustrating the manner in which one parish was then sometimes merged into another.) The great tithes were then reserved to the rector or prebendary ("rectori sive prebendario") of Excete; the small were given to the rector of West Dean. The bishop had, in 1521, collated Lawrence Woodcock to the prebend of Excete, being one of the four Wiccarnical prebends then founded by him in Chichester cathedral.

In Charlston, Alured the cupbearer's chapel yet exists, and being subdivided in the interior, is used in connection with the adjoining farmhouse. The building is quadrangular, 41 feet by 21; and in the walls are a few broken remains of massive stone work; but the only genuine unaltered parts are the North and South windows: the former, apparently of the 12th century, and of great beauty, has been long stopped up; the latter, a lancet window, of early English, is open to the air.

ALURED'S CHAPEL, CHARLSTON.



North Window.



South Window.

The following instance of the establishment of a private chapel is curious, and may deserve to be recorded: it will be observed, that it introduces the name of a Wilmington ecclesiastic. Its date is early in the reign of Edw. I, about 1285. Probably the great importunity alluded to was rendered necessary by the circumstance, that after the lady's death the building (or room) was to revert to secular uses, and therefore could not be consecrated. "Lanertie," must have been some seignorial abode in the parish of East Grinstead. The original is in Latin.

"John de Monte Acuto, to all sons of holy mother church, greeting.— Know that I have obtained, by much entreaty, from the Lord Prior of Lewes, and from the Lord Bishop of Chichester, and from Master Alard, parson of the church of Grestede, for the use of my mother, a chapel and the celebration of Divine offices in my property (fundo) of Lanertie, reserving all the right of the mother church of Grenestede, on condition of the annual pension of one bezant (bisancii), to be annually paid to the said mother church, in such manner however as that this licence (concessio) to my mother shall be preserved to her during her whole life, and that, on her decease, the said chapel shall altogether cease from all Divine offices, into whosoever possession the

said property shall have come, or if it shall have continued in my own use. But I and my mother have personally given our sworn covenant to the prior and convent of St. Pancras, that all these premises shall be fully observed by us, without fraud or any malice; nor will we attempt to devise anything, at any time, by ourselves or by others, against this. These being witnesses:—Henry de Tresgoz, Simon de Hechyngame, Richard de Exsetes (Exceit in W. Dean), Richard de Cumbe, Willelm de Burt, Master Gilbert de Chittingele (*Chiddingly*), *Master Sanson rector of the church of Wylmentone*, Robert chaplain, Hugh de Albo Monasterio, Matthew Hunter (*venatore*), Stephen son of Anketill, and many others.” (MS. Cott. Vesp. F. xv, pp. 45 and 321 b.)

The same names, “Ric. de Exsetes,” and “Mattheus Sanson, rector ecclesie de Wylmentone,” are among the witnesses to a charter, by which John of Montacute confirms “Grinstede” Church to the bishop of Chichester. (*Ibid.* p. 45.)

During the wars between John and Philip of France, which ended in the separation of Normandy from the English dominions, it is reasonable to suppose that these cells were not without disquietudes, arising out of their peculiar position. Yet the French abbeyes seem to have retained possession of their English property, without much molestation, through the long reign of Henry III, and until the 23d year of Edward I. A war with France having then broken out, that monarch, with a natural desire to prevent his enemies from being strengthened by the resources of his own kingdom, seized the alien priories into his own hands.

I have been unable to discover any document showing how Wilmington Priory was affected by this first general seizure. But on the next like occasion, when Edward II repeated his father's policy in 1324, there still exists the return for this priory by Peter de Worldham and Stephen Poer, the officers appointed by the crown to take possession of the alien houses in Sussex.³²

This second seizure is not noticed in our English histories; but was evidently a measure of precaution taken under the apprehension of hostilities with France. Charles the Fair was at that time entertaining designs against the foreign dominions of Edward, and negotiations were carried on respecting Guienne which threatened a warlike issue. It is

³² Add. MSS., Br. Mus., 6164, 18^o Edw. II (1324-5), pp. 466 & 471.

well known that the deposition of Edward, and the death of Charles shortly after, deferred for some years the expected collision; and the present proceedings against the monasteries apparently went no farther than to enforce a valuation of their estates and moveables, which were in some cases left, under certain stipulations, in the custody of the priors themselves, who were restored to their former full possession at the beginning of the next reign.³³

The king's commissioners, however, are directed to take possession for the crown, "for certain causes," of the lands and tenements, goods and chattels, of religious persons within the power (*de potestate*) of the king of France in the county of Sussex (natives of Flanders in the aforesaid county excepted³⁴), so that they might render an account of the proceeds thence accruing, according to an order of the king in council. Among the priories specified as the objects of their inquiry are those of Lewes, Clymping and Pasyng, Boxgrove, Leominster, Arundel, Sele, and Wilmington.

In their return for the priory of Wilmington the commissioners state that they give no detailed account of the proceeds of the manors of Wilmington, Frogeferles, Nunyngton, and Pelyng,³⁵ which were the temporalities of the prior with the prebend of Wylmington, and tithes annexed thereto, belonging to the same prior, after they had seized the same into the king's hands, with the goods and chattels found in them; because they had delivered the whole, with all the proceeds they had received therefrom, to the prior himself, to whom the king had committed the custody of the same³⁶ under a certain form enrolled in the exchequer; after they had taken and delivered into the treasury a distinct inventory of the goods and chattels; the prior giving security and being held responsible for them, if the king should be entitled to have them. The schedule of possessions and income, therefore,

³³ 1^o Edw. III. (Rymer, T. 2, pt. 2, p. 173).

³⁴ A truce then existed between Edward and Louis, Earl of Flanders. (Rymer 2, 2, 107.)

³⁵ The second and last of these manors, in the parishes of Alfriston and Westham, still bear the same names. I can only conjecture the third to be Nonnington in West Wittering, a farm recovered to the see of Chichester in 1537 by Bp. Sherburn, and which might perhaps in 1324 belong to the prior as a prebendary in the cathedral.

³⁶ This is probably the reason why Wilmington is not mentioned among the alien houses to which their estates were restored 1^o Edw. III (1327). (Rymer, 2, 2, 173.)

does not appear; but the goods and chattels are valued at £300. 18s. 11d.³⁷

I cannot find any similar record relating to this monastery, either for the year 1337, when Edw. III confiscated the estates of the alien priories,³⁸ and let out the lands and tenements and the priories themselves at his pleasure for 23 years; nor for the year 1361, when he restored their estates upon the re-establishment of peace.³⁹ But in the interval there are evidences before me of its being in the king's hands. In the Testa de Nevill p. 88, 9^o Edw. III, we find the preliminary inquiry going on; for a jury there certify that "the abbot of Grestein holds Wilmington, but by what title or tenure they cannot say."⁴⁰

In a list of presentations belonging to alien priories, 17^o Edw. III (1344), it is stated that "The presentations⁴¹ and collations to the rectory of Hartfeld and the vicarage of Estdene, near Seford, belong to the abbot of Grestene. The king presents to the vicarage of Estdene aforesaid John de Bymbrok, who is admitted and instituted vicar of the same, because the king has reserved to himself the knights' fees and advowsons of all benefices belonging to the aforesaid abbey."

And next year, "The⁴² king presents to the vicarage of Willyngdon John de Folkquardby, the priory of Wilmington being in the king's hands."

The restoration above referred to lasted but a little while; for in 1369 we find them again seized into the king's hands and forbidden to remit the customary sums to the foreign houses.⁴³ Their condition indeed during the whole of that reign was very disquieted. The king is said to have granted lay pensions out of their lands to divers noblemen; and we shall soon see that he obliged them to surrender parts of their property. For in the 44th year of that monarch's reign we have fuller records of his proceedings with respect to these

³⁷ Equivalent in weight of metal to about £900 of our present money; and, considering the low price of commodities at that time, a large sum.

³⁸ Rymer, 2, 3, 177.

³⁹ Ibid., 3, 2, 38.

⁴⁰ Burrell MSS., 5682.

⁴¹ Tower Records (Alien Priories), 17^o Edw. III.

⁴² Tower MSS., 18 Edw. III, Rot. Pat.

⁴³ Rymer, 3, 2, 160.

houses. The royal commission then issued, and the return made in consequence for Wilmington, are both preserved; and the latter gives a detailed account of the resources of the convent.⁴⁴ In that year (1371) Edward ordered an account to be taken of the property of this and other alien houses. The writ states it to be "upon occasion of a war stirred up between us and the French,⁴⁵ for certain causes especially affecting ourselves;" and it directs John de Bisshoppestone, his escheator, to repair to certain monasteries and ascertain by the oaths of a jury the true annual value of their property; and commands "every prior of the aforesaid houses to exhibit to him all the evidences touching the value of all their lands, tenements, and possessions, upon being required by him on the king's part so to do."⁴⁶

This "Extent" or detailed account (in extenso) of the possessions of Wilmington Priory was made "at Heylesham before John de Bisshoppestone, the king's escheator, on the Wednesday next before Easter," upon the oaths of twelve jurors, inhabitants we may presume of the place or immediate neighbourhood, whose names are⁴⁷ John atte Donne, John Aylot, John atte Wode, John Sage, Simon Holt, Thomas Hendeman, Reginald Hokeman, Tho^s Byngle, Will^m Chyterigge, Tho^s atte Welle, Tho^s Evenyng, and Tho^s Baker.

The statement of property agrees in the main with that of the Charters, though with some additions, and probably alterations from exchange or sale, now difficult or impossible to explain. The principal novelty (briefly alluded to in the "compotus" of 18^o Edw. II), viz., that the prior (see p. 49) held as part of his temporalities "a prebend of Wil-

⁴⁴ Add. MSS. Br. Mus. 6164, pp. 413 and 417.

⁴⁵ "Illos de Francia." The king by this neutral expression avoids recognising the claim of his rival to the throne of France. Hen. V, from a like motive, afterwards uses the same phrase, "ceux de France."

⁴⁶ The writ is dated "Westm. xxi die Febr. 44^o regni n. Anglie et Francie, 31^o" (1371). In the writ issued for the county of Kent, 18^o Edw. II, the archbishop of Canterbury is ordered to remove the foreign monks who dwelt near the sea-coast, from their houses, to other English monasteries in the interior of the country, 10s. a head being allowed for their yearly maintenance, out of the sequestered estates. (Rymer, 2, 2, 114.)

⁴⁷ It will be observed how many of these names are derived from locality—at the Down, the Wood, the Holt, the Well; others from occupation, as Hindman, Hookman, Baker. The original MS. is in the Carlton Ride Record Office, having the seals of the jurors still appendant on parchment slips.

mington"⁴⁸ in the Cathedral Church of Chichester, is here repeated, with the additional information that it was worth 55 marks per annum, and had attached to it the churches of "Westhame, Wyllyngdon, Estdene, with a portion of Westferles." The first two, it will be noticed, do not occur in the Charters, and were therefore subsequent acquisitions; as also was the church of Hartfield, which, as we have just seen, belonged to the priory. Money payments from churches, which may some of them have been compositions for ancient dues, and some acquired since the date of the second Charter, are of frequent occurrence.

If, however, the Extent shows considerable additions to have been made, it exhibits on the other hand a long and melancholy list of alleged oppressions, of rents and tithes "unjustly detained;" and the phrase "used to have" (implying that the prior had them no longer) occurs in no fewer than twenty-seven instances as applied to manors, tithes, rents, pensions from churches, and other sources of revenue. "Scinclerc, knight," of Jevington, is said to have recovered, by a certain inquisition in the King's Bench, their half-manor of that place: and "Will^m de Echyngehame"⁴⁹ figures as an "unjust detainer;" while to one "Tidemannus de Lynberich"⁵⁰ (alias "Lynberg") seven manors which "used to be" the property of the monastery, amounting in annual value to £113. 6s. 8d.—more than half the income of the house—are stated to have been "demised for a term of 1000 years, by license of the king"—a *license* probably which left no option of disobeying it. The whole annual value of their property, supposing the monks to have had their rights, would be £196. 2s. 8d.

⁴⁸ There is abundant proof of the existence of this prebend, though now almost forgotten. It is mentioned, in the Nonæ returns of 1340, for the parish of Willington. In 1343 we have, in a return made by the bishop (Robt. de Stratford) of Chichester, to a writ of inquiry, "Abbas de Gresteno habet in ecclesia nostra de Cicestria prebendam de Wylmington, qui moratur extra Angliam." (Tower MSS. 17^o Edw. III.) Other evidences will present themselves as we proceed.

⁴⁹ Son, probably, or grandson, of the man (of the same name) who quartered himself and his family, horses and dogs included, with so little scruple, upon the good monks of St. Pancras, at Lewes, in 1307. (See *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II, p. 16.)

⁵⁰ This personage seems to have been a jobber in court favours, or perhaps a professional money-lender. One of the charges brought in 1386 against Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and chancellor to Ric. II, was that he had purchased from Tideman of Limborch an old and forfeited annuity of £50 upon the crown, and had persuaded the king to admit the validity of the debt.

It appears from other records still remaining that the convent had not escaped losses from the disorders of former reigns, when might was often too strong for right, and justice so defectively administered. As early as that of John, we find John de Montacute summoned to show cause why he did not render dues of manors in Harinton (near Kettering) and Merse (Amersham), co. Bucks, to the abbot of Grestene; when he acknowledges a debt of 18 pounds and 1 mark, but alleges in defence that his lands are and long have been in the hands of the king.⁵¹

I am sorry to say that even the ladies showed a disposition to take advantage of the times; for in 23^o Edw. I (1294-5), the abbot of Grestene sues Johanna, formerly wife of Robert de Caunvil, for "estovers,"⁵² viz, "housbote" (domestic fuel), "hegbote" (wood for hedges), and timber for repairing or building anew their houses in the manor of Wilmington; also pannage for his hogs "of his own breeding" (*de propriâ nutriturâ*): and complains that he has been dispossessed of those rights which he used to enjoy in the woods of Waldern, Hauckeherst,⁵³ Broyle, and Clavregge, belonging to his tenement in Waldern, Hodleghe, and Legton. The defendant alleges in reply that she has only a life interest in the manor of Leghton, to which the aforesaid woods belong, and that she cannot answer without the king's being a party in the cause.⁵⁴

A similar complaint against the same Johanna, and for the same offence, is made by the prior of Michelham, who exhibits the charter of Gilbert de Aquila, the founder: in which case judgment is given for the prior, that he should recover the premises, and Johanna is left "in misericordiâ," *i. e.*, at the mercy of the court.

In 34^o Edw. I (1305-6), the abbot of Grestene sues brother William of St. Leonard, and fifteen others, for having broken into his close at Salfeston (Sawston, in Cambridgeshire), and carried away his corn, &c. They deny the charge, and the

⁵¹ Rot. Plac., p. 89; 15^o John, rot. 14.

⁵² "A general term in law for the supply of necessities, especially for allowances of wood made to tenants." (Jacob.)

⁵³ A part of the forest in East Hoathly, now called Hawkherst Common; Broyle is in Laughton; Clavregge (now not known) was a property in Waldron, Robert de Clavregge appears in the Nona returns as a parishioner.

⁵⁴ Rot. Plac., p. 235; rot. 26.

jury find that the prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England is parson of Salfeston, and that the said defendants took only the tithes of corn in the aforesaid close, which—having before been brushwood—had been broken up and brought into tillage by the abbot himself.⁵⁵

In 19^o Edw. III (1345), the abbot recovers possession of two messuages, 160 acres of arable land, four of meadow, and ten of wood in Hellingleggh, as well as £100 compensation for damages from William de Batelesford,⁵⁶ and divers others.⁵⁷

A few more miscellaneous records connected with Wilmington have fallen under my notice.

The earliest vicar of whom mention is made is Geoffry de Caz, whom K. John, by his letters patent, dated 25th Feb., 1209, at Freemantle (Frigidun Mantellum), co. Hants, presents to the vicarage in the vacancy of the see of Chichester, commanding the archdeacon of Lewes to admit and institute him without delay.⁵⁸

In a letter addressed to the Sheriff of Kent, dated 25th Nov., 1307, commanding him to provide bridges and hurdles (claias)⁵⁹ for the king's instant passage to parts beyond the sea, reference is made by Edw. II to "Stephanus de Wylmynton," whom he terms "dilectus clericus noster," as one of his confidential agents;⁶⁰ but possibly this may be of Wilmington near Dartford in that county.

In 1372, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster (youngest son of Edward III), had a grant of (inter alia) the advowson of the priory.⁶¹

Another document of the 48^o Edw. III (1374), is the king's writ to the sheriff of Sussex to seize all the alien priories into the king's hands; but no details of property are given.⁶²

It appears from a patent of 1^o Hen. IV (1399-1400) that

⁵⁵ Rot. Plac. p. 258. rot. 2 in dorso.

⁵⁶ Batlesford or Batisford is in Wartling, and gave name to a distinguished family. The name Batleford appears in a list of the inhabitants of Pevensey in 1340.

⁵⁷ Rot. Plac. p. 355, rot. 36.

⁵⁸ Rot. Pat. 10^o Johann.

⁵⁹ Spelman's Glossary.

⁶⁰ Rymer 1, 4, 100.

⁶¹ Tower Records (Alien Priories), 46^o Edw. III. This explains why, "On an inquisition taken in 1579, the jurors return that the borough of Wilmington is within the liberty of the Dutchy of Lancaster." (Burrell MSS. 5682, f. 520).

⁶² Tower Records (Alien Priories), 48^o Edw. III. The 48 Edw. III, Benefic. Alienig. referred to in Tanner, is not now to be found in the bundle of alien priories in the Tower.

the effect of these frequent seizures, and farming of the estates by lay persons, was very disastrous. Both the buildings and estates were reduced to a ruinous condition; so that "divine worship and the regular observances of their order were discontinued, their alms, hospitalities, and other works of charity interrupted." The king, therefore, in this year restores their possessions, requiring only that they should in future pay to him, during the continuance of the war with France, the ancient apport which they used to pay to the head house of each priory.⁶³

Of the subsequent history of Wilmington Priory till its final suppression no information seems to be attainable. It probably experienced, with the rest, further vicissitudes of fortune, and dragged on a precarious existence during the reigns of Rich. II and Hen. IV; and soon after the accession of Hen. V these houses were all finally dissolved.

The estates, or such of them as then remained in Sussex and elsewhere, being valued at 240 marks a year, were granted in the 1st year of Hen. V (1413-14) "by his letters patent to the dean and chapter of Chichester and their successors, to hold during the war with France, or so long as from any cause whatever the said estates should be in the hands of the king or his heirs (rendering nothing therefore), for the celebration of divine service for the good of his soul, so long as he lived and after his decease, and for the soul of his father and mother, as well as that of Nicholas Mortymer lately his servant, whose body lay buried in the chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary within their cathedral church."

But these letters patent not being deemed a valid title, the dean and chapter, for their better security, presented a petition to the king in the second year of his reign (1414-15), wherein are recited the words of the former patent, followed by a prayer that the grant might be enacted and enrolled by Parliament.

The manner in which the petitioners—"vos poveres et continueulx oratours"—fortify their position by an almost endless amplification of terms, is a curious specimen of law-language, while it gives a very full enumeration of the various kinds of property which then constituted the wealth of

⁶³ Rymer, 3, 4, 167.

a religious house. They ask for the priory and the prebend of Wilmington in their church, "ave toutz les celles, eglises, manoirs, terres, tenementz, pescheries, rentes, services, fees des chivalers, advowsons des eglises, vicaries, hospitaux, chapelles, chaunteries, et autres benefices quelconques, ensemblement avesque toutz les pensions, portions, annuytees, dismes, oblations, almoigns, et autres emolumentz, profitz, choses, et possessions, si bien espirituelx come temporelx, az ditz priorie, prebende, manoirs, terres, tenementz, profitz, et possessions suis ditz, en aucun manere appurtenantz ou regardantz," to have and to hold upon the conditions above mentioned. Their prayer is complied with, and Parliament confirms the grant "en toutz pointz."⁶⁴

The king, moreover, gave them his license to procure a release or confirmation of the said priory from the abbot and convent of Grestein, and to unite and appropriate the same to themselves and their successors for ever.⁶⁵

From that date to the year 1565 (7^o Elizab.) the dean and chapter of Chichester remained in undisturbed possession of the property, and the only record I find of their proceedings, in any way connected with this manor, is one which, however interesting at the time to the parties concerned, is not now of much public interest. It is simply that, "On the 20th March, 1445 (23^o Hen. VI), John Crucher, dean of Chichester, and the chapter, grant to John Denyst, Esq. an annuity of £1. 6s. 8d. for his advice, issuing out of their manor of Wilmington."⁶⁶

In the 7th year of Queen Elizabeth, by a deed dated the 8th December, the manor and demesnes of Wilmington, and other possessions of the dean and chapter in that neighbourhood, together with the impropriate rectory of Chiddingly, which was held by William Bradbridge, the chancellor of the cathedral, in right of his dignity, were conveyed absolutely to the queen, to the intent that her majesty or her successors, on

⁶⁴ Rot. Parliamt., vol iv, p. 43.

⁶⁵ The two priests, called "the king's chaplains," who officiated in "Mortymer's chauntry," occupied a house entered from the south cloister. Over the doorway may still be seen the arms of Hen. V, with a representation of two priests kneeling before the Virgin Mary—the whole being supported by an angel bearing a rose. This house was alienated from the church by letters patent of Edw. VI, and has since continued in lay hands. (Dallaway, I, 127).

⁶⁶ Burrell MSS., 5682. (Pelham old Deeds B. No. 5).

the humble petition of Sir Richard Sackville (one of her privy council and under treasurer of the exchequer) might, by letters patent under her great seal, grant the same to Sackville and his heirs for ever; the manor and demesnes of Wilmington to be held of the crown in capite by the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee, and the residue in free socage, as of the manor of East Greenstead, by fealty only.

This conveyance was made pursuant to an agreement entered into by Sir R. Sackville with the dean and chapter and Bradbridge, dated the 4th of the same December.

By way of exchange for Wilmington and the impropriate rectory, the queen, by letters patent dated the 13th day of the following February, granted to the dean and chapter the collegiate church of Bosham, with its prebends and endowments.⁶⁷

In this exchange of property there were renewed to the dean and chapter out of the priory and prebendal estates, the advowsons of Beddingham, Alciston, East Dean, Friston, Firles, Lollington, and Willingdon.⁶⁸

Among the papers in my custody relating to the vicarage of Wilmington, are two authenticated copies of Terriers, now in the registry office of the archdeacon of Lewes, dated 1615 and 1635, "made by the vicar, churchwardens, and other honest men in the said parish," which allege that the tithes of the copyhold, having in the memory of men then living belonged to the vicarage, had been wrongfully kept back by the (Sackvilles) carls of Dorset, the lords of the manor. The latter document very earnestly prays for their restoration, and has the signatures, it would seem, of all the heads of families in the parish; for they represent themselves and their families as "the entire members of this maimed and dismembered church." They subscribe themselves the archdeacon's "faithful informer and humble orators," and are twelve in number, of whom four only could write. This appeal, as was likely, proved unsuccessful; and the tithe of the copyhold lands has ever since been paid to the lord. As some compensation, however, in 1716 the then lord of the manor, Sir Spencer Compton, afterwards baron (1727), and earl (1730) of Wilmington, gave 200 guineas in augmentation of the living.

⁶⁷ For access to this and some other sources of curious information, I have to thank the kindness of my friend J. B. Freeland, Esq., of Chichester.

⁶⁸ Dallaway, I, 101.

The complaint of the archdeacon's "orators" was probably grounded on the construction they put upon the terms of an augmentation to the vicarage made nearly a century before. The ancient endowment, if there were any, is not known; but a second endowment was made in 1541 (32^o Hen. VIII) by Richard Sampson, bishop of Chichester, with consent of the dean and chapter, upon the humble petition of Henry Marshall, then vicar.

This instrument⁶⁹ assigns to the vicar a house of residence contiguous to the east angle of "the great old hall" (*i. e.* the ancient priory), with a kitchen, small court-yard, and garden; reserving to the dean and canons the right and liberty of walking and recreating themselves according to their pleasure in the said garden, as often as they happened to be at the manor-house on the business of the cathedral; and also securing to them on such occasions the use of the kitchen. In the above-mentioned terrier complaint is also made that the vicar had been deprived of this residence without any consideration given in exchange.

The instrument then endows the vicar with all tithes, both great and small, arising in the parish, excepting those of the manorial lands; and here was involved, probably, the point in dispute. It further assigns to him three pieces of glebe land, called Monkyn Pynde, Prestwyke (or wish), and Pyngwell Haw.⁷⁰ Of these the first two still retain their ancient names, and belong to the living; the present vicarage-house is built on the last, but the name has passed away. All burdens affecting the church or vicarage were to be borne by the dean and chapter; excepting only king's taxes, the repairs of the vicarage house, with provision of bread, wine, and wax, for divine service, which were to be borne by the vicar. It further stipulates that the vicar shall pay to the dean and chapter annually the sum of £2. 17s. 10d., which is laid in separate portions upon the glebe and tithe; and this sum is now paid annually by the vicar to the lord of the manor.

The Sackvilles continued to be owners of the manor of Wilmington till it passed into the Compton family about the

⁶⁹ The MS. is preserved among the archives of the dean and chapter of Chichester.

⁷⁰ Haw—"Cantianis vocatur Agellus domui adjacens et circumseptus: unde iis 'hemp-haw,' 'bean-haw,' *i. e.* talis agellus cannabis vel fabarum sationi destinatus." (Junii Etymolog. Anglican).

year 1687;⁷¹ and in 1782, by the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth Compton, heiress of the last earl of Northampton, it was carried to the late Lord George Augustus Henry Cavendish, afterwards earl of Burlington, whose grandson, the second earl, is its present possessor.

Many ancient claims of the priory now appear in the form of quit-rents; some of which have been conveyed with the manor to its present noble owner; others have gone elsewhere, in the distribution of the property since its first entire transfer to the church of Chichester; and others again, as the forest-rights, seem to have altogether disappeared, at any rate they have baffled my attempts to trace them. A rent-charge of £20 is paid yearly out of this manor for the support of Sackville College, in East Grinstead, a hospital founded in 1608, by Robert, second earl of Dorset.

About half a mile from the monastery, at the foot of what is called the Holt, is a pond known as the "Well-holes," fed by a perennial spring, and evidently of artificial construction. Remains of stone-work are discoverable in parts of the sides and bottom. This is supposed to have been the stew in which the good fathers kept their fish, from whence they could readily procure a supply when wanted. Other ponds in the manor, not to mention the river Cuckmere, which bounds the parish on the west, would enable them to keep up their stock without difficulty.⁷² The prior was well provided, we may presume, with game as well as fish, for he had right of free-warren over the three manors of Wilmington, Jevington, and Alfriston.⁷³

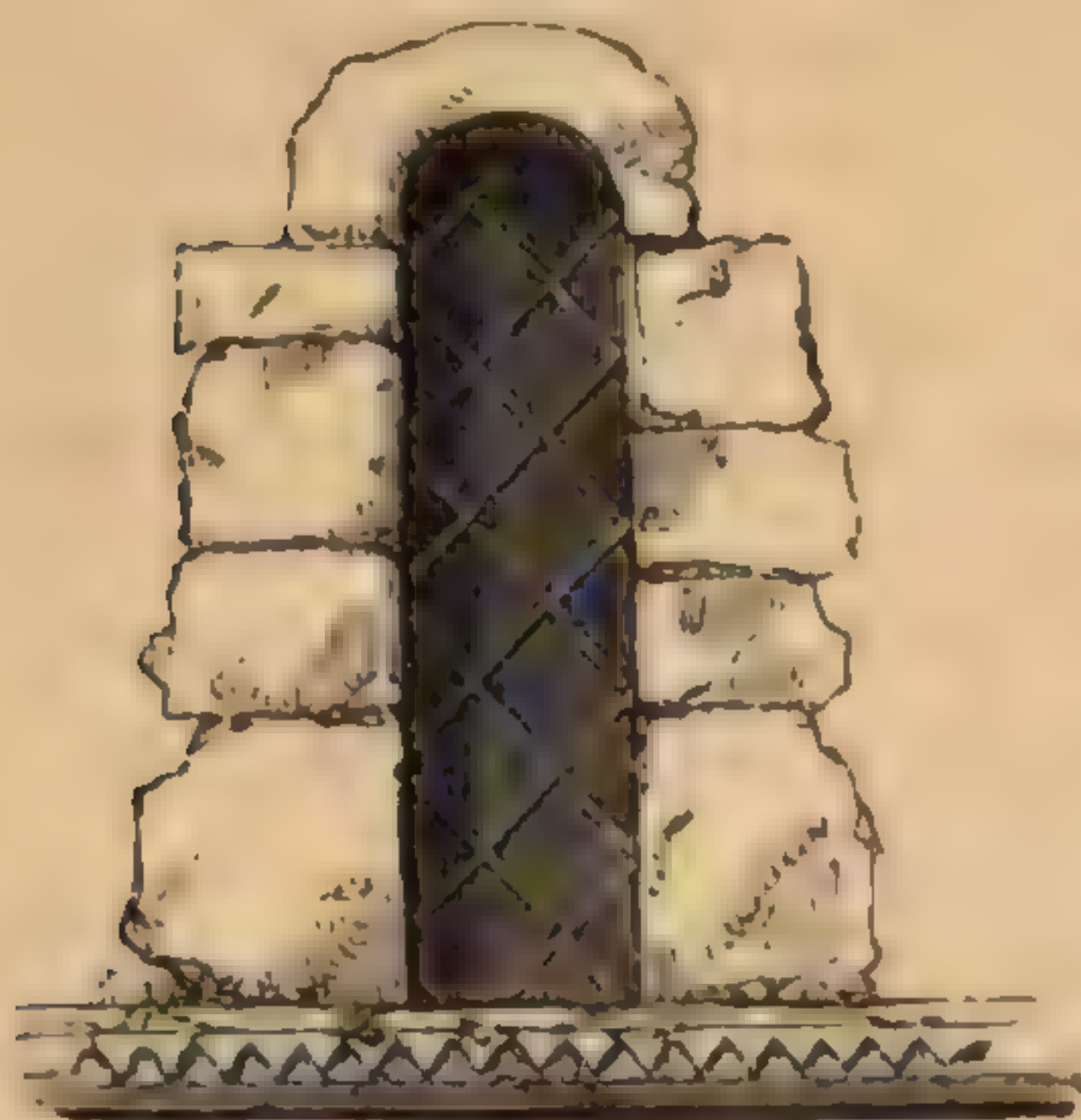
The monks chose the situation of their priory with their proverbial good taste, upon a gentle eminence under the lee of the downs; and they built their church contiguous to the

⁷¹ The descent of this property through the Comptons to the Cavendishes is given in the Burrell MSS., 5682, f. 520.

⁷² Perhaps a dish of salmon-trout might sometimes furnish an agreeable variety; for this fish in rare instances has been found in the Cuckmere. On the 3d of August 1849, part of the stream being dammed up for the repair of a bridge, and the water reduced in depth, a young sportsman in my presence caught with a casting-net four of these trout in about an hour, the smallest weighing 4 lbs., the largest 10½ lbs., and the aggregate weight being 24½ lbs. But this was an unexampled occurrence; and no suspicion was entertained that any such fish were in the pool. At the mouth of the river, about four miles farther down, grey mullet are abundant in season.

⁷³ Burrell, MSS., 5702:—"Excerpta ex libro de cartis et libertatibus ad Sussexiam pertinentibus." (Cart. 36^o, 37^o, Edw. II.)

monastery. (fig. 4) The views from the churchyard are very pleasing, and the time-stained building itself with its ancient yew tree, as seen in connexion with the surrounding objects, is full of picturesque beauty. The chancel (fig. 5), is Anglo-Norman, little altered on the north side, where the original



narrow round-headed window of Caen stone still remains, and a portion of an external zig-zag moulding. A window of pointed trefoil (the framework of chalk) is of later date. A hard kind of chalk, it is said, used to be dug on the higher parts of the downs. Certainly this window has borne exposure to the atmosphere for many centuries without injury. The two arches with their pillars in the south

transept are also entirely of chalk. A stopped window (fig. 5), much recessed in the inside, and so low as to be on the outside only 20 inches from the ground, and on the inside 4 feet from the floor of the church,⁷⁴ seems so unnecessary that I have been sometimes tempted to conjecture that it may have served for a door of communication with an external confessional: a notion somewhat countenanced by the interruption of the Norman string-course and by traces on the outside of a lean-to at some time attached to it. The east window, 13 ft. by 6ft. 6in., is of the perpendicular style (fig. 7).

Excepting the parts just named, with the north door (fig. 9), or principal entrance, the font and two pointed arches in the body of the church (fig. 6), none of its details are of much antiquity; and rude hands have broken down its carved work with axes and hammers. The mutilated remains in the north wall of what was once a fine stone arch (fig. 8), between the nave and chancel, bear lasting testimony to this fact; corroborating what we are told of the iconoclastic fervour which prevailed in the year 1558 at Hailsham and in its neighbourhood.⁷⁵

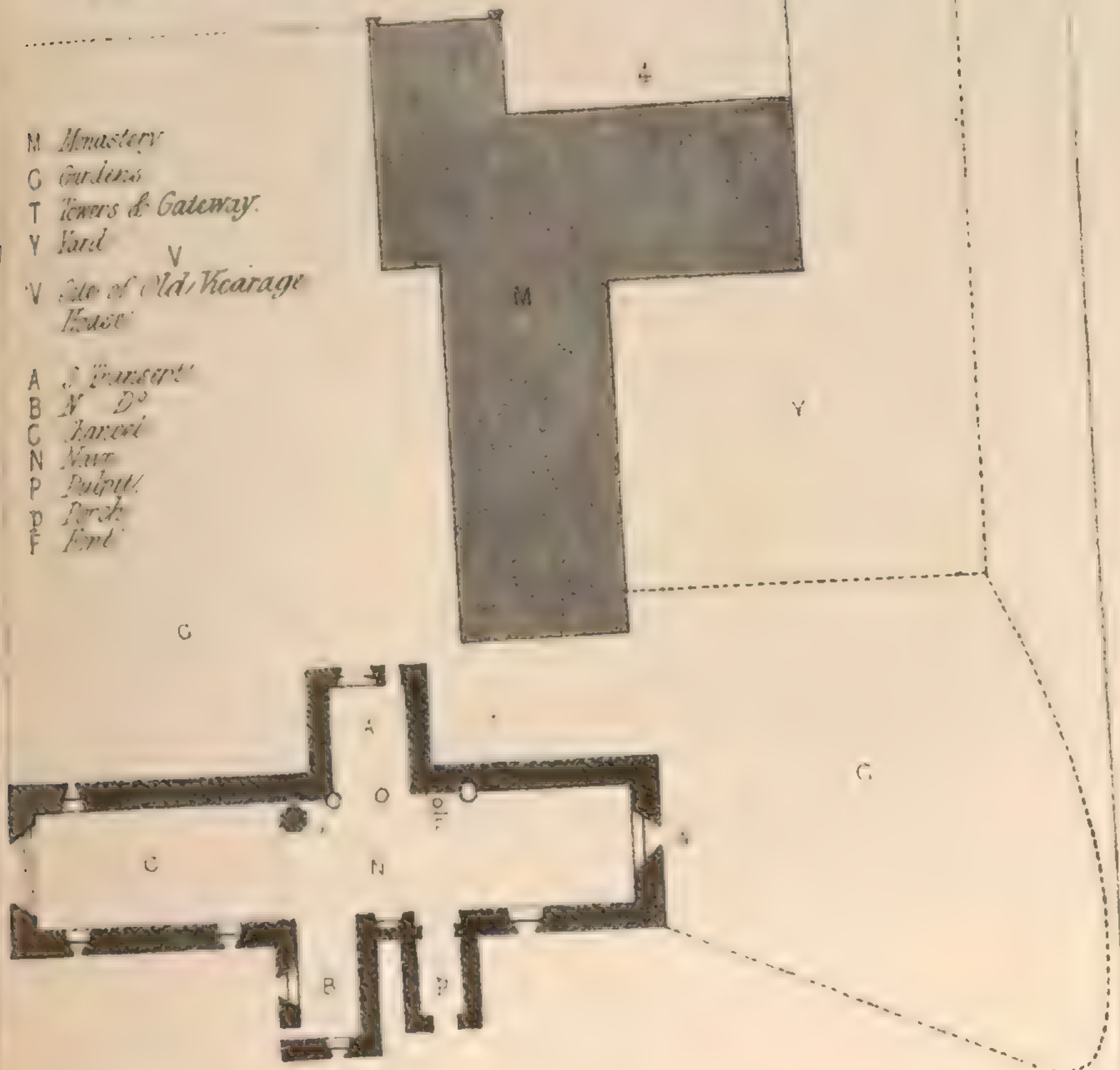
⁷⁴ From the sill of the window the masonry slopes downwards on the inside to about half the thickness of the wall where it reaches the horizontal bottom of the recess, 18 in. lower; from thence to the floor is 2 ft. 6 in.

⁷⁵ Strype's Annals, I, 49.

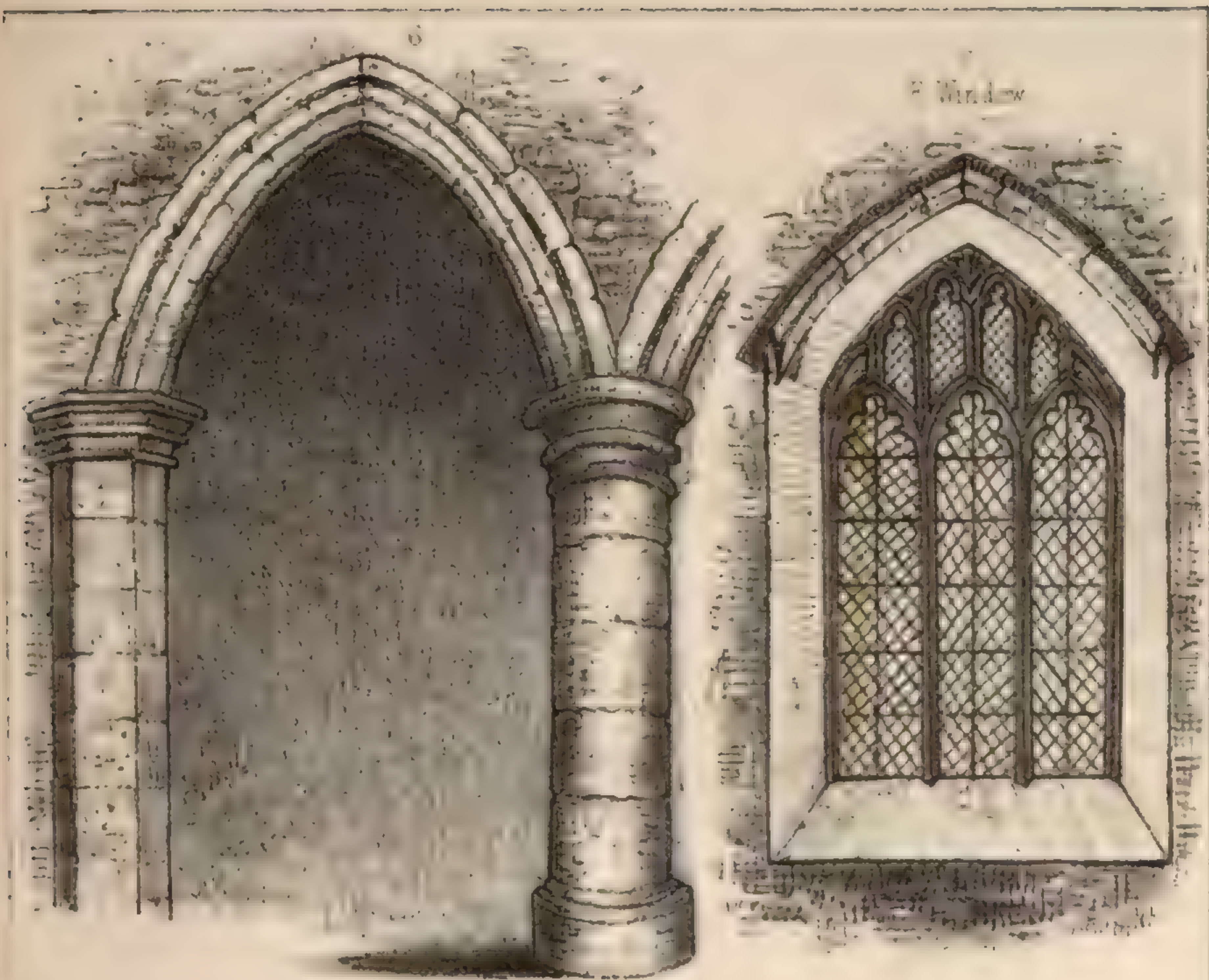
Ground Plan
OF
WILMINGTON CHURCH & PRIORY

M Monastery
G Gardens
T Towers & Gateway.
V Yard
V Site of old Vicarage
House

A S. Transept
B N. D.
C Lancel
N Nave
P Pulpit
D Porch
F Front



WILMINGTON CHURCH AND GROUND PLAN



Archway & Window

View from



Altar Area

Some years since, in opening the trefoil window of the chancel, I discovered the fragments of a coloured image of a bishop in full pontificals with crozier in hand; which once stood, it is conjectured, upon a stone bracket still projecting from the east wall on the north side of the altar.⁷⁶ Together with these were pieces of two out of the four stone pilasters supporting the angles of the font, which had been wanting probably for two centuries, and had been used as mere rubbish, mixed with large flints and parts of the broken chancel arch, to fill up the recess of the window.

The form of the church is singular, an irregular cross, the north and south transepts in no way corresponding (fig. 4). The former bears the appearance of a side chapel; the latter was evidently in some manner connected with the convent, which with its precincts occupies the whole south and west sides of the church. From these the public are excluded, and the whole of the churchyard lies on the north side.

There is little here to attract the notice of the curious in architecture; but one thing is very striking to the ordinary observer in this simple yet venerable fane, I mean the artless manner in which the fabric is constructed. The walls, massive and durable, bulge out in the most irregular manner on the inside, and must have been built with an utter contempt of line and plummet. Three bells,⁷⁷ hung at the west end in a modest shingle spire, are rung from the body of the church; there being no belfry. There is reason to suppose the garden on the south side was once a burial-ground; for three skeletons were found in it some years ago imbedded in clay evidently brought for the purpose (none being there naturally), and serving instead of coffins, of which no traces could be discerned.

Of the priory itself there are few genuine remains. A room with groined arches (fig. 3), now used as a parlour, but which tradition speaks of as the original entrance hall, has walls of 5 ft. thickness and a chamber over it with a solid floor of brick. But the most remarkable relic of the old building is the cellar,

⁷⁶ All images were ordered to be taken out of churches by an order in council of 11th Feb., 1548; they were restored in the reign of Mary; and finally removed soon after the accession of Elizabeth, in many places with great violence, as was evidently the case here.

⁷⁷ Two of them were re-cast in 1839; the tenor bell had inscribed upon it:—"Roger Tapsell, 1630," a bell-founder in Chiddingly.

which is quite unaltered and, without violence done to it, might remain so for a thousand years longer. The whole of its area, 23 ft. square, is divided into four equal compartments by semi-circular arches springing at right angles to each other, from a low hexagonal pillar in the centre, and terminating in the walls. These compartments are severally roofed over with two semi-circular ribs of stone intersecting diagonally, the point of intersection being 7 feet above the floor. At each corner of the area is a cylindrical pillar with simple capital of plain roll-moulding, upon which the four diagonal arches, springing from the central pillar, rest at their other extremities. The remaining four have both ends inserted in the solid masonry of the walls. The height of the middle pillar is 3 feet; that of the four corner pillars 2 ft. 6 in., to the spring of the arch. The original entrance was by an arched doorway on the north side, the jambs of which are 4 ft. 6 in. and width 4 feet, with a rise of 8 inches in the arch; the material being the sandstone of the country.

A few arched doorways in the walls, with here and there a defaced corbel stone or broken column, tell a sad tale of glory departed, and constitute the poor remains of what was at first, no doubt, of a sufficiently ornamental character for the rude age in which it was fashioned. The interior of the roof is vast and desolate, showing huge beams of oak, some of which look as sound as when first felled in Earl Robert's aboriginal forest of Pevenese. There is no lack of good timber; the monks seem to have availed themselves to the full of their newly-acquired privilege.

The rest of the house is of subsequent and various dates. The two towers (fig. 1) which form externally the most striking feature of the building, with the window of square mullions between them, seem not earlier than the time of Hen. VI. Other parts have been added or altered till the plan of the original structure can scarcely be conjectured; but persons now living remember when the building extended considerably farther to the east and west; those portions having been since demolished and the materials applied to various uses.

How it was occupied during the period of its connexion with the chapter of Chichester, I can get little information: but the towers just mentioned, and the apartments which

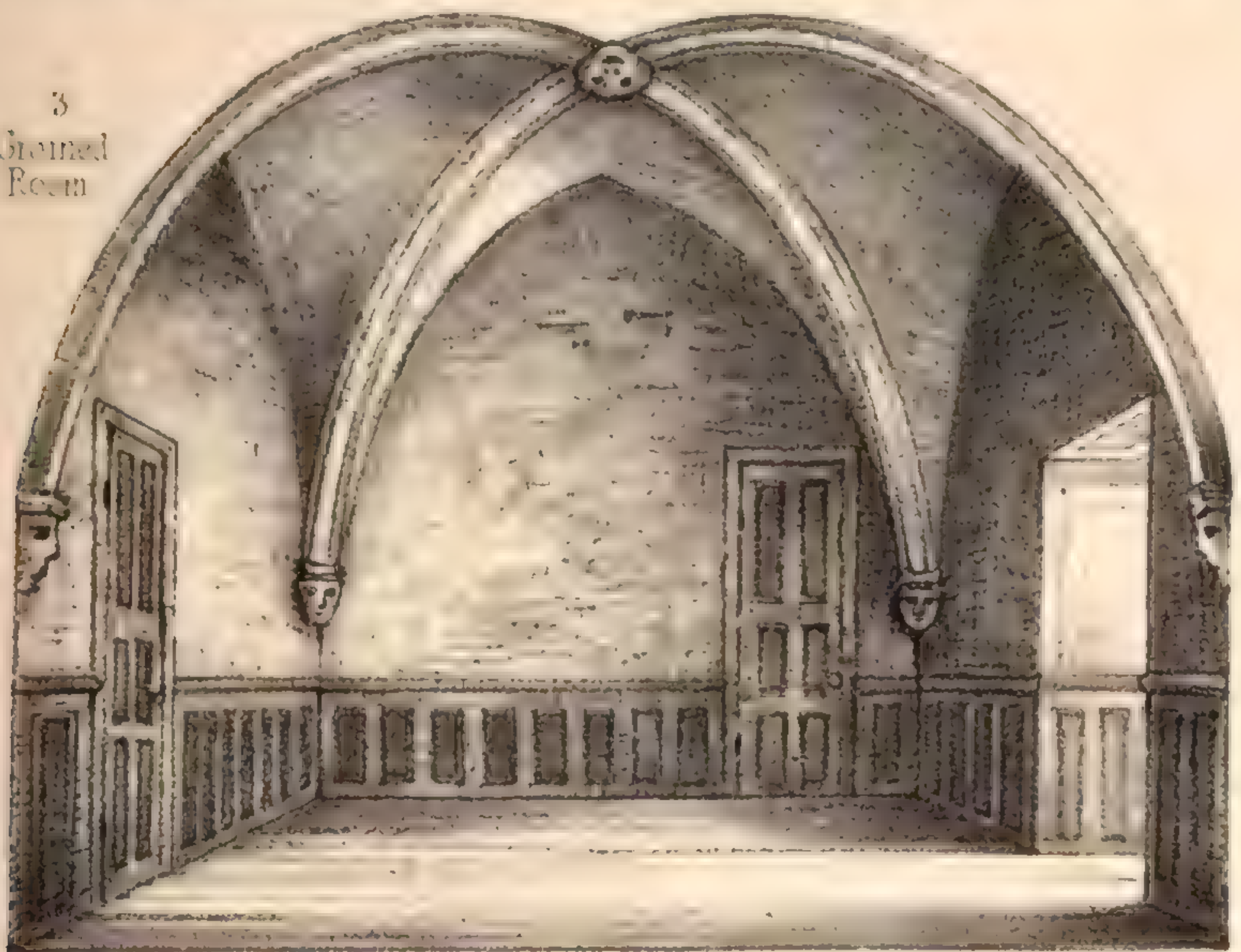
1
Gateway



2
E View



3
Cloined
Room



were annexed to them, indicate that it was still a residence of some importance; and we have seen that the dean and canons occasionally frequented it. At an earlier period of its existence it once gave shelter to an illustrious princess, Eleanor, daughter of King John, and wife of the great Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. A few weeks before the battle of Evesham, she took this priory in her hurried journey to Dover, and was entertained in it for one night, that of June 13th, 1265, at the expense of her son, who came to meet her from Pevensey. (See Blaauw's Barons' War, p. 288.)

It is now, and long has been, a farm-house (fig. 2); of which the principal sitting-room was formed many years ago out of what was considered and called the chapel, having windows, I am told by the present occupier, of arched stone; and the arched roof of wood, now hidden from ordinary inspection by the ceiling of the modern room within it, may still be viewed from above by those whose curiosity is strong enough to lead them through dust and darkness.

Few other memorials of the Wilmington Benedictines remain to perpetuate their remembrance. But one is so singular that my account would be judged even more incomplete than it will in fact be found, were I to pass it without notice.



A rude, gigantic figure of a man, 240 feet in length, has been cut on the hill side to the south-east of the monastery; and tradition ascribes the work to the idleness or ingenuity of its

inhabitants. The figure stands, or rather reclines on its back, for it is on a steep declivity, with arms extended upwards, and a long staff in each hand parallel to the body. The outline is so slightly indented in the turf that to a close inspection it is imperceptible; but when viewed from a distance with a strong side-light, *i. e.*, either in the morning or evening, it may be plainly seen; and yet, even then, an unpractised eye will have some difficulty in tracing out the figure, of which the lower parts are at all times extremely indistinct. The thawing of a slight snow brings it out into the boldest relief.

Though it is unconnected with the priory, I may perhaps be allowed to mention that a piece of land still called the "Endlenewicke," and showing vestiges of a ruined mansion, once gave name to a family of some note in this place, whose memory has long passed away. "Philip de Endlenewike" gave evidence before the royal commissioners for ascertaining the value of the 9ths and 15ths in this parish in the year 1346.

It appears that in the grant made June 25th, 1372, by Edw. III, to his son John of Gaunt,⁷⁸ king of Castile and duke of Lancaster, of the castle and leucate of Pevensey, with the advowson of Wilmington, and other things, was included "the bailiwick of Endlenewyk, with its appurtenances."⁷⁹ Certain dues are still annually collected and paid to the owner of the above-mentioned piece of land (which forms part of what is now called Moor's Hill farm), under the name of "Endlenewick Rents," from twenty-four manors and farms once included in this ancient bailiwick. They are situated in the parishes of E. Bourn, W. Dean, Ripe, Selmeston, Folkington, Hartfield, E. Dean, Blatchington, Alfriston, W. Firle, Seaford, Hellingly, Arlington, Chalvington, and Tarring; the sums paid vary from about 2s. to £7, and the whole amount is about £30.

This church possesses a register, commencing with the year 1538. The book itself is not original to this date, but was made in the fortieth year of Elizabeth (1598), by Malin Morton, then vicar, who says that he transcribed the previous entries "from the ould paper book" into that of parchment, which now exists. It contains an uninterrupted record, with the exception of a few years more or less defective, but has

⁷⁸ See before, p. 54.

⁷⁹ Rymer, 3, 2, 198,

nothing likely to be of public interest. One entry however is striking: "1647, a robber buried, May 25;" killed, we may suppose, in the commission of his crime—a hint of the disorders of that most disorderly time. At the end is a list of all the parishioners (63 in number) who took the "protestation made and taken by both houses of parliament," on the 10th July, 1641.

From various evidences, chiefly this ancient Parish Register, it appears that the following have been vicars of Wilmington.

	A. D.
Geoffry de Caz, presented by King John (see p. 54)	25th Feb. 1209
[Matthew Sanson, mentioned p. 48, as "Rector Ecclesie de Wylmen- tone," was Prebendary (p. 46), and therefore Prior (p. 49) about]	1285
Henry Marshall	was Vicar in 1541
Bawdwin Hamnett	buried 8th Feb. 1565
Master Hillman	was Vicar in 1586
Master Actonn	in 1589
Malin Morton	{ inducted 4th May 1597 buried 1st April 1616
William Smart	buried 17th Jan. 1621
Hughe Jeninges	inducted in 1621
Tobias Gyles (afterwards Rector of West Dean)	inducted 30th Sept. 1644
Richard Ireland	was Vicar in 1665
William Edwards (afterwards Rector of Denton and W. Dean)	in 1673
Jonathan Darby (also Vicar of East Dean)	in 1698
Samuel Isaack	in 1738
Henry Hodsden (afterwards V. of Willingdon & W. Ham)	died 20th Mar. 1740
Edward Lord (who built the Vicarage-house)	until 1764
John Hubbersty	buried in 1779
James Capper	buried in 1835
George Miles Cooper, present Vicar	instituted 15th April 1835

Here I would conclude, were it not that I must crave permission to add a brief notice of one of the greatest antiquities of the place,—its noble Yew-tree, the ornament of this church and village. Its age cannot be less than that of the ecclesiastical fabrics of which it is the appropriate companion. An old man of 85 once told me that he had known it for 75 years, and in his earliest recollection its appearance did not differ materially from that which it now presents. Here we have three-quarters of a century scarcely effecting a visible change, and a gauge wherewith to measure roughly its

great age. Its gnarled and magnificent double stem is really a study for the painter. At 3 ft. 3 in. above the ground, where the stem divides, as is common with this kind of tree, its girth is 20 feet. One half of the trunk has become hollow. To the first large branch is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the length of the largest branch is 33 feet, and the ground which the tree covers—chiefly on the east side, for on the west it has been stunted and driven back by the violence of our prevailing winds—is about 250 square yards, or a circuit of 168 feet.

In former ages it has been sadly and wantonly maimed. Whoever wanted a piece of yew wood, or wished to gratify a destructive caprice, seems to have applied the saw and the knife without mercy. It is now more carefully guarded; and I sincerely hope it may yet be spared to shelter from winter rains and summer suns many more generations of honest peasants, when assembled for attendance at our venerable house of prayer.



THE FIRST AND LAST DAYS OF THE SAXON RULE IN SUSSEX.

BY THE REV. C. BOHUN SMYTH.

READ AT HERSTMENCEUX, JULY 25, 1850.

It is easy to imagine that the Saxon and Danish buccaneers might be, and undoubtedly were, originally but few in numbers, that the ferocity of their manners, their intrepidity, and the suddenness of their apparition, would inspire dismay among the defenceless countries they ravaged. The fear these atrocities occasioned very naturally augmented their numbers in the eyes of their victims, and a panic, once created, never ceased to exaggerate the real danger. Although the Danes were the most locomotive people in antient Europe, their conquests contained no ideal aim preconceived by their authors, as always happens amongst barbarians, whose motions, like those of infants and animals, are destitute of true finality.

King Alfred thus describes the German settlers in Britain : —“ *Komon hi of ȝrum folcum ȝam ȝtranȝetan Ġermanie, ȝæt of Seaxum, ȝ of Angle ȝ of Ġeatum .:*” —“ They were descended from the three most powerful nations of Germany, from the Saxons, Angles and Jutes.” When the Angles and Saxons settled in England, they availed themselves of the Roman walls and edifices left by the Italian architects. Their conversion to Christianity taught them the use of sumptuous buildings, which have been erroneously attributed to the hands of Saxon masons. Romans and Britons had once occupied these fortresses and towns in peace and harmony. The Roman language had extensively prevailed. Many words had crept into the British language from the admixture of the legions of Rome with native Britons. The Anglo-Saxons received the substance of their more refined education in Latin authors,

and many works of the Saxon period were composed in that universal tongue, the knowledge of which ultimately facilitated the introduction of the Normano-Frankish dialect into this country, which long retained its ascendancy in the courts of justice. The Latin language was not suppressed when Christianity was for a term expelled from this land.

Turner, Palgrave, Lingard, Kemble, and other writers, have poured floods of light on the heptarchy and monarchy of Saxon England. But it cannot be denied that Lappenberg and German historians of our Anglo-Saxon period have added further light from their inspection of Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish records relating to the Sweynes, Gorms, Olaves, Canutes and Harolds. The German critical scholar has suggested the word *Octarchy* instead of *Heptarchy*, as more appropriate to the actual number of the antient Saxon states, before they merged into one general sole monarchy, in those days of the warriors of the "*breast-net*" or the shirt of mail, of glittering mitred abbots, of filleted and pearl-bedecked dames, of minstrels and harpers.

Suð-ræx was deeply affected, both at the commencement and conclusion of the ascendancy of the sons of Odin, or Woden, the deified monarch of the Teutons, who was himself of the race of the Sacai, or Scythians; and the Saxons are supposed by some to be indebted for their name not to the Saxon word "*seax*," or dagger, but to the Sakai, as the *runa Sakai*, who worshipped the Gothic Wods. To this day the Teutonic deity sounds in our Wednesday, and in the Wansdike in Wiltshire, and in Wansbury. At the two extreme points of Hastings in East Sussex, and of Chichester in the West, the most signal memorabilia of the Saxon annals occurred. The fate of Anderida, in the *Andpeder-peald*, in the weald of Sussex, inspires us with horror. This woody district abounded in deer and wild boars. We read of the utter destruction of this fortress and the British defenders in the old 'Saxon Chronicle,' under the year 490; as follows: "*Ʒep Ɔelle 7 Cissa ymbræton Ɔndpeder-cester. 7 oflogon ealle þa þe þær inne eapdedan. ne pearð þær forðon an Brit to lafe.*" (Saxon Chronicle.)—"This year A.D. 490. Ɔella and Cissa besieged Andreds-chester, and put all its inhabitants to the sword. Not a single Briton escaped alive." Such contests, in that age of disorder, were

thus pictured by the harping minstrels at the festive board of earls and chieftains:—

“There was hard play—a great war-cry—a loud battle-crash. The adventurers of the Raven-standard drew from their sheaths the ring-hilted swords. The grim war-mote of Ælla’s hearth-retainers, the bearers of ashen spears, felled to the earth the yielding Britons. The din of shields and shafts—the whizzing of war-darts fell thickly. Loud was the shout of the pursuers—bucklers glittered—trumpets sang—standards rattled—around them screamed the fowls of war, greedy of battle.—the war-wolves howled their horrid even-song.”

This is the first scene of the acts of the first Saxons, upon the shore of Sussex, once inhabited by the Regni of old Britain.

The best accounts describe Ælla to have landed with his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, in three vessels at Cymenesore, Keymor at Selsea, in West-Sussex. The Saxons were instantly received by a loud shout from the Britons; immense masses left their hiding-places and commenced the battle. The Saxons exceeded in bodily size and strength, and met them with fierceness, as they advanced with precipitancy, separated and ill-arranged, against the compact and closely-ranged Saxons. The Britons in the rear were panic-struck in hearing of the defeat of the foremost masses. Anderida received the terrified fugitives, in the midst of a neighbouring forest. The conquerors spread themselves along the sea-coast, and about eight years afterwards accepted in Sussex the challenge of the British champions and forces at a spot called in the Saxon language *Meapcpeðer-bupnanrteðe*, which Florence interprets, the river of Mearcredi, Mercredesburne. Here a desperate battle was fought; victory was for a long while doubtful, and both armies declined at last the contest, and retired to their respective quarters. Ælla sent a message to his foreign friends. In the course of six years new succours arrived, and joined Ælla in the siege of the ancient Roman fastness Anderida. And the issue of that siege was as before stated.

At *Lijran-cearþe* (Chichester), Ælla, the father of Cissa, founded the illustrious but short-lived kingdom of the *Australes Saxones*, which formed a rampart for Kent against the other rising Saxon dynasties of Mercia and Wessex, but was itself hemmed in and unable to enlarge itself by conquests over the

Britons. Very soon it began to be eclipsed by other kingdoms, and we have not so much as a dry catalogue of its regents, or any of the coins that Kent has left to posterity. Ethelbert has stycas and sceattas ; but Sussex has not transmitted any of its circulating pieces, if it possessed any, which may be questioned, peculiar to its own governors. The question has been raised by a German scholar named Lappenberg, in his able history of the Saxon period in this island, whether King Ælla was, strictly speaking, the first of the Bretwalds, or governors of Britain? He admits the great weight of the historian Bede's authority, who lived not very long after the day of Ælla, and who ascribed this imperial title to Ælla. But Lappenberg objects to this view, that Ælla reigned only over the limits of modern Sussex, and that there arose no second Bretwald in the house of Ælla ; and he observes, that the Bretwald rose as high above common kings, as the latter were above their " æalþepmen," and subordinate officers.

The grand part which this district played was very likely due to the personal superiority of the mighty Ælla, who imparted vigour to its brave inhabitants, for which cause he received the august title from the hand of the grateful minstrel. To prevent repetition in the course of our narrative, where the name of the men of Sussex appears, here let it be stated, that on all occasions the South Saxons were valorous to a proverb, that they distinguished themselves in arms against Coenwulph, king of Wessex. They were matched in the course of time against Offa, king of the Mercians, and against the renowned Cadwalla ; they were in a much later period staunch to their favorite, Earl Godwine, and Godwine's unfortunate son and last king of the Saxons.

The first kings of the Saxons were most sanguinary Pagans : they aimed at the total destruction of the Christian name and worship. When a church survived the conquest of the province in which it stood, it was turned into a heathen temple, and Christian altars were polluted with idolatrous victims. The first Christian cloisters and the early simple churches dedicated to Christ were levelled with the dust. This was the age of numberless true martyrdoms, and many names yet live in obscure records. A trust-worthy writer, Matthew of Westminster, writes under A.D. 587, that the kings of Sussex

ruled only in that province Suthsaxia. A Christian king was soon succeeded by a heathen on the throne. This was the case in the neighbouring county of Kent, on the death of Ethelbert, A.D. 616, when his son Eadbald assumed the reins of government, to the injury of the Christian cause ; and on the death of Sebert, king of the East Saxons, his three sons became Pagans, and restored the idolatry suppressed in their father's days. During the celebration of the solemn eucharist they insulted the prelate, whose name was Mellitus, and drove him away. In the course of time,

“ In the year of grace A.D. 7ii,” says Matthew of Westminster, “ in the province of the South Saxons, it was enacted, by a synodical decree, that though they had previously belonged to the diocese of Winton, this province should be furnished with an episcopal foundation and its own prelate. Eadbald was consecrated as the first bishop, who was abbot of the monastery of the prelate Wilfrid, of blessed memory, called Selsea, where this servant of the Lord endured an exile of five years.”

This chronicler records the succession in this see. We are presented in the acts and words of Cadwalla, king of Wessex, especially in his charter, dated A.D. 680, with proofs of his munificence to the rising church of Christ in this county. Bishop Wilfrid asked him for a portion of land to maintain himself and his fraternity ; the king complied “ *pro remedio animæ.*” The donation was situated at Pagham, called in this charter “ *Pecganham,*” and adjacent spots called “ *Scrippaneg, Ceorlatum, Bucganora, Beorganstede, Crymesham,*” &c. ; the grant was confirmed and approved of “ *Ecwald subregulus,*” or Æthelwald. Other grants were conferred on “ *fratribus suis domino servientibus,*” in the church dedicated to Saint Andrew, at “ *Vedringmutha,*” or Widringmouth, and land at Tangmere. A denunciation is pronounced against any person who should dare to disturb and alter the bequest. It was solemnly pronounced exempt from taxes for public service, and the viceroy thus signs the deed, and the following persons ; after Æthelwald stands “ Æthelred, rex ; Hedda, episcopus ; Ercenwald, episcopus ; Aldhelm, scholasticus of archbishop : Theodore drew it up.” Wilfrid was declared the owner of this property for his natural life, and received permission to name his heir to it, “ *post obitum cuicunque voluerit.*” The document wishes peace to all who shall read and add

their sanction to it. It was indorsed by Bishop Wilfrid, with most grateful good wishes to the primate Theodore.

In the year 956 a charter was granted by Eadwig, styling himself in it the Basileus of all Albion, and his obligations to the Divine bounty being proclaimed, he conveys very considerable property, sixty "*mansas diversorum locorum*," to his most faithful Bishop Brithelm, and the monks placed at Chichester. The deed is closed with the usual awful denunciations in case of infraction. Bishop Brithelm's charter, A.D. 957, mentions alienations which had stripped the see of the South-Saxons, and the restitution of tenantries, which he prevailed on Eadwig to enforce, "*in illis locis qui vocantur Selessey, Wystrynges, Icchenor, Bridham, Sidelesham, cum aliis villis cohærentibus*." It was his earnest wish to have these and other manorial possessions restored "*pristino cui pertinebant episcopatus, et præfato monasterio; ubi episcopalis Saxonum Australium habita sedes perpetuatur*." The bishop here named is called "*Selessey Præsul*;" and, in the year 947, Wulfric, with the consent and in the presence of Eadred, his king and his queen Ediva, and the two archbishops, granted to Christ's Church, at Canterbury, his own rightful land, called Peccinges, in Sussex, under the usual stipulations and exemptions.

The forests and fastnesses of the South, the downs, and woods defended the newly-settled northmen from surrounding enemies. Long did they cherish heathenism, and resist all the invitations and influences of Christianity. The men of Sussex, last of all the Saxons, embraced the Gospel, and were principally famous for their unflinching bravery in their many campaigns with other races, which were by Milton compared with the strife of kites and crows. But certainly there were heroes in those days, when Offa drew dykes with his victorious sword, and bridled the restive mountaineers of Wales, and when the good Christian King Oswald fell in a battle in Shropshire, at Maserfield, at a particular tree called Oswald's tree, abbreviated into the modern Oswestry; and when Egbert's banner displayed the golden dragon on the royal standard of Wessex. The earth then felt the heavy tramp of the *Þiz-ſmīðar*, the fight-smiths, who were said to hew iron like wool, who brandished clubs or maces. These deadly

weapons were bound and spiked with iron, and with one of these Thrum, the Dane, in pity hastened the lingering death of the expiring Archbishop Alphege, in the sack of *Kantpapaburȝ*, the city of the men of Kent.

From the dark background of heathen Sussex the bright and lovely form of a very interesting character emerges to view, whose name is consigned to the imperishable page of history, whilst his spirit has, doubtless, enjoyed the celestial reward of faith. This royal personage was called by the name of Edilwalch, and his truly Christian consort by that of Eaba; and both of them were swept away by the tide of war. King Edilwalch perished sword in hand, and fighting in mortal combat with the fierce Cadwalla, in the year 686; and the latter conquered the south after a most stubborn resistance of the natives, with the utmost difficulty. King Edilwalch's life had been adorned by the fruits of his faith. He had settled seven hides of land in the isle of Selsea upon Wilfred, the apostle of the south, as a recompense for his having converted 250 bondmen from a twofold captivity of mind and body. Wilfred was the most remarkable man in the Saxon age to which he belonged. We may conceive something of his exterior from the account left of his mode of dressing his consecrated head. He assumed the tonsure of St. Peter during his abode at Rome. The northern ecclesiastics were entirely divested of all their hair, with the exception of one large tuft at the back of the head. But the Roman mode consisted in shearing the hair so as to imitate, by a circular form, the crown of thorns on the head of Jesus. Accident at sea drove him from the course to Northumberland which he was taking, and the storm cast him upon the shore of the heathen South-Saxons, whose high-priest invoked the wrath of his gods on Wilfréd, who threw a stone and silenced him; and after hard fighting he and his comrades made good their escape to Sandwich. Wilfred was very fortunate on other occasions. He was presented with a copy of the four Gospels, penned in golden characters, upon purple-coloured and ornamentally-painted vellum, with a case composed of pure gold and precious gems, by King Ælfwine; and, as was stated, Edilwalch enriched him with several hundred acres in Sussex, to which number seven hides amounted. This grant

was made to Wilfred on his second arrival at Sussex, at the invitation of the converted Edilwalch, who is said to have become a Christian at the suggestion of Wulphere, king of Mercia. The praise of Wilfred is thus recorded by Matthew of Westminster: "On his return to Britain he converted Sussex from the darkness of idolatry to the faith of Christ."

Henry of Huntingdon defines a hide as "*terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens per annum*,"—land sufficient for the employment of one plough through the year. The old Saxon word *ḡuðe* contained at the survey of Domesday 120 acres; but previously one hundred or fewer acres.

After the melancholy and regretted fate of Edilwalch and his queen, Æthelwald, appointed as viceroy by the victorious Cadwalla, shared the same fate with his predecessor Edilwalch, being deprived of his sceptre and his life by the aldermen of Sussex, Berchthun and Ethilhun, who drove Cadwalla away to his own dominions.

The island called Selsea is considered by the learned Camden to have derived its name from the seals that resorted thither. But we are not inclined to accept this interpretation when we can find a better. We find in the Saxon language that the word *rel* or *jele* means a mansion or seat; and now there are two villages in Wiltshire retaining such an etymology, viz. Zeals and Silton. In Cadmon we read that settlers in foreign states, "*ongunnon jele jettan*," began with establishing a settlement. Here Ælla and Cissa formed one; afterwards a minster was constructed here. Selsea is very early connected with the settlements of the Teutonic victors, and with the establishment of Christianity, and its episcopal authority in the south of England.

About the beginning of the ninth century, King Egbert, called the first monarch of all England, and his royal son, Ethelwulph, gave to the ecclesiastics of South Mallings, in this county, possessions in land. Egbert had reduced Kent, and added it and Essex and Sussex and Surrey to his dominions. "Ethelwulph, his son," says the 'Saxon Chronicle,' "took to the West-Saxon kingdom, and he gave to his son Æthelstane, Kent kingdom, and Essex kingdom, and Surry, and Sussex." Florence of Worcester says, "Æthelwulph placed his son Æthelstan, king over the men of Kent, Essex, Surry,

and Sussex." Matthew of Westminster calls Æthelstane the fifth son of Æthelwulph; this son signalised himself at first, and then disappears from history, no one knowing what became of him, but Whitaker conjectures that he reappears in the person of Saint Neot. Malmesbury says he knew not his end. We must distinguish between Æthelstane the son of Æthelwulph and Athelstane the grandson of Alfred, and son of Edward the Elder. If Æthelstane, the son of Æthelwulph did really turn monk, and lay aside the sceptre of the south, he acted in conformity with the religious ideas of his age. To him we may apply the words which Asser, Alfred's biographer, employs upon his own conduct, viz. that he devoted himself to those sacred spots in which he was imbued with learning, and was "*crowned*," meaning the monastic circle of tonsure on his head, such as Wilfred wore. About the year 851, Æthelstane fought a sanguinary battle in Kent with the Danes, and vanquished them, which spectacle is supposed to have disgusted the sensibility of his mind.

Asser informs us that the kingdom of West Saxony was always superior to the Eastern, that is, to Essex, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; "*nam occidentalis pars Saxoniae semper orientali principalior est.*"

There is at Canterbury a charter made by King Ethelwulph at Wilton, in which he gave Ealhere, who fought under Athelstan "*for requital of former services*," the lordship of Lenham in Kent. It is affirmed, by trustworthy authors, that Ethelwulf, upon the conquest of South Wales, settled it, with the county of Sussex, upon his youngest son Alfred, but that the settlement was not to take effect till after the death of his eldest brother Athelstan. This prince died, or disappeared within a monastery, in A. D. 852. Alfred was in possession of this royal inheritance a year before his first voyage to Rome. Ethelwulph foresaw the valour and virtues of Alfred, who was all his life engaged in rooting out the fierce Danes.

About this period it was decreed that the priests at matins should say the mass made for protection against the Pagans every day; and that, at all the canonical hours of prayer, the whole congregation should prostrate themselves upon the ground, and sing the psalm, "*Domine quid multiplicati sunt?*"

and the collect against the Pagan invasion ; that this should be done as long as the calamity continued.

A munificent patron to Christian institutions was King Athelstane, the son of Edward the Elder, and grandson of the great Alfred. Athelstane signifies the "*gem*" or "*most noble*," as the superlative degree of *æðel*, noble ; he was a generous supporter of the Benedictine abbey at Malmesbury, so called from *Maidulf*, or *Maidulfes-bury*, and there the body of Athelstane reposed. The noble Athelstane gave Tarrings, in this county, to the fraternity of Waffingswerks, and a vassal of the Mercian Offa, Berhtwald, duke of Sussex, with the consent of the king, settled on the foreign abbey of St. Denis, the church of Rotherfield, and the havens of Hastings and Pevensea : instead of a king, we here find a duke presiding over the South Saxons.

The laws of Ethelbert and Witred, kings of Kent, were very stringent in preserving the peace of the church. We read, *Mynreper frud ii gylde* :. If quarrels and contentions arose within a church, a double fine was imposed, according to the rank and dignity of the edifice. Witred made a statute, that the violation of the peace in a church should incur the penalty of fifty shillings. In the laws of Ethelred, the violation of ecclesiastical peace was fined as heavily as violence to the king's person. Amongst the *Australes Saxones*, any individual who fought within a church forfeited all his possessions, and it was in the king's option to take or to spare the offender's life ; but murder committed within the church walls could not be expiated. The same remark applies to the peace of a monastery. These enactments were enforced generally throughout the south of Britain, and in other parts.

In an early period of Anglo-Saxon history, several kings and nobles with their consorts passed from scenes of war and pageantry to adopt the cowl, and tonsure, and veil. This resolution in the great recluses was the origin of many a sumptuous minster, of nunneries, of glittering high altars, which invited the rapacious hands of the sacrilegious Danes. Ina fled the court to erect the abbey at Glastonbury ; his Queen Ethelburga ended her days as abbess of Barking. Cuthburga, Ina's sister, in 713, quitted her husband, king of

Northumbria, and erected Wimburn nunnery, where Ethelred the First was entombed. Ethelstane granted the rank of thane to any land-owner who built a church for the use of his tenants, and confirmed this law at a Witena-Gemot. Many sumptuous churches were erected in this county, especially at Selsea, and Bosenham, and at Chichester, but generally, the Saxon churches were built of timber; cathedrals and abbeys were dignified by the use of stone.

It is an interesting calculation, to compare the value of books or rather manuscripts, with that of landed property. In the ninth century, an English bishop was obliged to make five journeys to Rome, principally to purchase books, for one of which Alfred gave him an estate of eight hides of land, or as much land as eight ploughs could till. King Athelstane's books, or vellum manuscripts, were preserved at Baðan or Bath, up to the Reformation. Two of his MSS, are in the British Museum. The Gospels, upon which the Saxon kings are believed to have taken the coronation oath is one of them. They were crowned upon a wooden stage in the public market-place of Kingston, L yn ger-tun, on the Thames; and so late as the close of the last century, there remained an ancient chapel, containing effigies in stone of the celebrated latter Anglo-Saxon monarchs.

The vocal church service was first introduced by the Roman ecclesiastics into Kent, and soon spread into Sussex, but it was improved in the northern parts of England. Immense importance was attached to the church-chanting system, so much indeed, that the arrival of a singing-master or chanter from Rome was looked upon as an event not second in importance to a victory, and as a triumph over heathen and barbarous rites, achieved by the Catholic faith. Through the Christian ascendancy in Saxon England, noble and pious women gave alms to the poor, portioned out orphan girls in marriage, and condescended to many acts in imitation of the examples of the first saints of the Christian faith. But the most disastrous scenes were frequently displayed over the length and breadth of this land from the incessant visits of ruthless banditti from the north of Europe. The Saxon monarch could not live quietly in his chair, nor the archbishop in peace in any part of his diocese. A labourer could not

always walk in security over his possessions, or count with certainty on the produce of his corn-fields. The baron and his knight left their families unprotected, a prey to lawless violence; nor was even the sanctuary of the monk, or the cell of the nun respected. The isle of Thanet, the Wight, the shores of Kent, and the whole length of Sussex dreadfully suffered from the descents of the Danes. Such freebooters as Hardrada often unfurled the war-banner, or Landeyda, which meant the "destruction of the country," when his followers on bended knees and with erected spears awaited the attack of the defenders of this country. The monasteries especially felt the destroyer's hand. Whole pages might be filled with painful recitals of most barbarous warfare over the downs and weald of Sussex, and many an earth-mound is now visible on the mossy hills, under which the Dane, or Saxon, or Briton, was consigned to a premature sepulchre. Kings and warriors were deposited on the spot where they fell. On the tumulus of King Gorm in Jutland, the following Runic inscription is still found, and thus records his conversion to Christianity:—

"King Gorm raised this barrow after (in memory of) his queen Thyre, Danmarks-bod (the improver of Denmark.) King Harold bade make this barrow for his father Gorm and his mother Thyre, the same Harold who conquered all Denmark and Norway, and embraced Christianity."

It has been a subject for wonder with many, why Sussex was so long resolutely opposed to the reception of the Christian faith: Sussex did not embrace Christianity till after several states had professed it. But here we must premise, in the solution of this question, that when a state, as Kent, for instance, received the Christian religion, it is not to be believed, that all the men of Kent at once became obedient to the faith; we know that Bertha, the queen, and that Ethelberht, the king of Kent, did yield to the force of truth, and that several thanes, citizens, and humble persons, cast away their idols, and the whole system of heathenism. But we are told that thousands continued in unbelief, and that whole districts remained under the power of error. Let us consider the position of Sussex; this county was separated from the Christian Britons by Surrey and Wessex, and the Britons were therefore cut off from communication with Sussex, and disabled from spreading their Christianity in the south. Long wars also embittered the

two races ; and froze any zealous feeling that might have been excited by the Gospel, in the minds of the persecuted Britons, to evangelize these Pagans. Besides, in those days, states had very little communication with each other ; and when one received the Gospel, its neighbours were incensed against its proceedings, and rushed into hostilities. When the faith did spread in Wessex and Mercia, it had to pass through their limits to reach the south, and there were doubtless other causes, now unknown, to hinder the march of Truth.

It is very certain, that, on the decease of several Christian Saxon princes, the successors restored the heathen worship, to which they had ever remained wedded ; and the profane multitude hailed the revived banner of the deified monarch of the Teutons. The worship of Thor again flourished, and the rites of Freia were restored. The conversion of any one of the petty states was not attended with marked consequences, because they were disconnected from one another, and because the general influence of the Bretwald prevented not apostacy from the true faith. However, in every case of this sort, Christianity ever contrived to preserve from total destruction somewhere in each province an altar and an asylum for its children. Lewina, the earliest Christian lady in Sussex, has not been forgotten in the lapse of ages ; after she fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of the Pagans, her bones were long preserved at Seaford,¹ in high honour as a virgin martyr, and her memory was canonised by papal authority. There was a tradition that St. Neot's bones were brought to Croyland by Lewina for fear of the Danes, but Whitaker is inclined to give it little credit. Many historical events connected with Sussex, and even the name of Lewes does not occur in the old 'Saxon Chronicle,' to which William of Malmsbury refers in the prologue to his celebrated work, and thus describes : "There are certainly most ancient memorials here and there scattered through the years of the Christian era, after the manner of chroniclers and vernacular language."

In the reign of the second Ethelred about the year 993, the encroachments of the Danes reached their term ; they were repelled from the southern provinces. In the year 994, on the nativity of Mary, the Norwegian Olave, with the Danish

¹ See *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. I, p. 48.

Sweyne, sailed to the port of London with a great navy and attacked Billingsgate: but the citizens forced the pirates to retire, and ascribed their victorious resistance to the powerful arm of the Holy Virgin. These vi-kings directed their next assaults against the coasts of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, which were wasted with fire, sword, and utter destruction. The barbarians got possession of all the horses within their reach, and extended their depredations into the heart of the country; the terrified Ethelred made terms with the Danes for £16,000, which purchased the repose of the south, to the impoverishment of the Saxon population. But the provinces of Kent, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight, and Southampton, were soon visited by fresh swarms of invaders from the north, who reached the Medway and Rochester; in vain the men of Kent and Sussex rushed to oppose the foemen; they were overpowered, and the Danes seized their horses and ravaged Kent and Sussex to the boundary of the west, whilst they sung in honour of Odin and Thor, Regnar Logbrog, and Hasting, their triumphant hymn. In the midsummer of the year 1006, Sweyne landed once more with a numerous fleet at Sandwich, then one of the most considerable havens of England; at the approach of Ethelred, the enemy withdrew to the Isle of Wight; and in the autumn and winter did immense mischief in the west of Britain. Sweyne then received £36,000 in silver, as a bribe to forbear from plunder. We must now quit the scenes of violence in which Danes played the foremost part, for others in which they were almost rivalled by native Saxons; but first we must not pass over in silence the name of a Danish vi-king, who communicated his own to Hastings. When in the year 891, Guthrun and many of his heathen retainers were willing to be baptised and to submit to the sway of the victorious Alfred, the recusant party under the banner of Hastings passed the ocean to the sorrow of the unhappy shores they visited. The fugitives tore from the graves many bodies of holy men, which their friends had not removed, with the costly shrines that contained them, though many remains of the dead were hidden in places far from the sacrilegious hands. Though they were expelled from East-Anglia by Edward the Elder in 918, yet they or others of their nation visited this island again. Our attention must

again be fixed upon the south of England, and at the two extremities of this county; but we will first quote one extract from William of Malmsbury, who says:—

“The Kentish kings reigned properly in Kent: the kings of Wessex ruled over Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Dorsetshire; and in Sussex, which for a short period had its own king; and the episcopal seat of this province was anciently in Selsea, which is an island surrounded by the sea, as Bede describes, where also the blessed Wilfrid erected a monastery; the bishop now resides at Chichester.”

The history of the kingdom of Sussex, is not well authenticated; it appears sometimes to have been tributary to Kent, and at others to Wessex, to which it was finally united by Ecgherht, A.D. 824; and under the year 839, Malmsbury writes:—

“Ethelwulph, called also Athulph, contented with the ancient crown of Wessex, made over to his son, Athelstane, the rest of his father’s conquests for an appanage, of whose end and the time it took place there is nothing known for certain.”

The mighty Offa obtained leave from Pope Adrian to erect Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see; but four bishops still were subordinated to the prelate of Canterbury, viz., the diocesans of London, Winton, Rochester, and Selsey.

The lists of the Saxon kings of Kent, Mercia, Wessex, Northumbria, Essex, and Sussex, are preserved, but in the last kingdom only five are enumerated, Ella, Cissa, Æthelwald, Berthun, Aldhun. The kingdom of the South Saxons was given up by the last regent to the dominion of Wessex.

Though we find not Lewes named in the ‘Saxon Chronicle,’ yet we read of it in an Anglo-Saxon Charter, respecting a female named Eadgiva, dated about the year 962; her father possessed land in Kent; after his death, which happened at Holme in battle, disputes arose with his creditor, Goda. King Æthelstan was appealed to, to decide the cause. The document says, “*7 ðiſ par gedon on Æðelſtaneſ kȳninges gepitnūſſe, 7 hiſ pytena at Hamme wið Læpe,*”—“and this was performed in the presence of King Athelstane and his parliament at Ham, near Lewes.” She became a benefactress to Christ’s Church, at Canterbury, and laid her presents with her own hand on the high altar there.

Three localities in Sussex especially draw our attention—old Bosenham, venerable Pevensca, and far-famed Hastings; and three prominent characters—Wulphnoth, Godwine, and Harold, grandfather, father, and son.

This Wulphnoth spread disaffection and mutiny into the royal navy, and with forty ships he ravaged the southern coast, and outdane the very Danes in his plundering assaults; he did immense mischief by defeating and destroying the royal armament despatched against him.

We may introduce here some notice of the navy of England; the first fleet of galleys, like those of the Danes, was built by Alfred, A.D. 897. The number of galleys increased under Edgar to 350, about 965. A formidable fleet was equipped by the public contribution of every town in England, in the reign of Ethelred the Second in A.D. 1007. Wulphnoth was called *Eald ðone Suð-Seaxscian*, the child of Sussex—child is interpreted “*puer nobilis*,” minister, heir, and thane. This earl of Sussex had busy enemies at the court, and perhaps he deserved to have the royal displeasure directed against him; he sought instant safety in flight, and he continued till his last day a successful foe against his royal master. His father Athelm had a brother named Brithric, the implacable foe of his nephew Wulphnoth. Thus Wulphnoth lived the life of a vi-king; his uncle sailed with eighty ships to reduce him to subjection, but the naval armament perished amongst the fatal rocks by the violence of the winds; some were burnt by Wulphnoth, and very few returned to London. Poor Ethelred is described as quite unable to exert himself, with folded arms, and indulging in vain complaints. He was haunted by the spectre of his murdered brother Edward. “*Exagitabant illum umbræ fraternæ, diras exigentes inferias*,” are the graphic phrases of Malmsbury. It was of no use to levy troops and arm vessels either against Danes or Wulphnoth. The army was either without its prince, or its prince was no soldier; it convened but slowly, and separated in a moment. Wulphnoth quenched the hopes of all England. The Saxon Chronicler says, “all these disasters, *unġerælda*, came upon us from evil counsels, *ðuph unpæder*.” The dreadful storming of the city of Canter-

bury, and the murder of Archbishop Alphege, crowned the misfortunes of the Saxons.

Godwine, son of Wulphnoth, inherited his father's earldom, and his father's restless disposition. When in the prime of life, he sought military reputation beneath the banners of the Swedish monarch Cnut, and was ever called in old deeds Godwine miles. In the year 1028 King Cnut took Norway from King Olave, owing much to the arm of Godwine and the British legion. After his return to England Godwine fell into suspicion of being accessory to the death of Alfred, son of Ethelred. He was challenged to clear himself "*ad sacramentum purgationis*." The 'Saxon Chronicle' makes no mention of this event, but two manuscripts record it. Though he raised the Confessor to the throne, yet he lost his favour. As his father had done before him, Godwine consulted safety in flight; and he retired from his own land to Bruges, in Flanders.

To add to the domestic troubles of the nation, the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of town and country were always obliged to stand upon the watch, with sword in hand, for fear of invasion and attack from the Danes. On every hide of land a tax was laid throughout the country to pay one shilling for the enlistment and the payment of the *fyrd*, or armed troops to repel the fierce intruders. This tax was the too well known Danegeld. Great disturbances attended its collection. Worcester was set on fire, A.D. 1041, by Hardy-Cnut, because the citizens slew his huscarles, or household retainers, that collected tribute. The fugitive Godwine was proclaimed an outlaw, or *pulfer-heafod*, a wolf's head, a price being set on Godwine's head.

The mention of wolves and boars reminds us of those days when our forefathers were in dread of these nuisances; when a northern haunt of boars received the name of *Eoproppic*, now contracted into the modern York. Wolves lent their odious name to the month of January, or *Pulfer-monað*, when those creatures were most famished and fiercest. Two wooden wolves' heads still remain near Glastonbury on an ancient house, where, at Eadgerley, King Eadger lived and received annually his tax from the Welsh in 300 heads.

Godwine's earldom extended over Sussex and other parts;

his son Harold governed East Anglia and Essex; his son Sweyne ruled over the north of Wessex. His daughter, Eadgitha, had received the promise of the royal hand, and was raised to the rank of queen, but never fully possessed the affections of the Confessor. He was recommended to separate from her; and he dismissed her, shorn of all her honours, with only a single female attendant, to the nunnery of Wherwell, and to his sister.

The banishment of Godwine involved too many interests to become lasting; a triumphant return was in preparation for the exiled earl. He came sailing back from Nieuport and Flanders towards the white cliffs of Albion. Here he found his Kentish men still true to him. The mariners of Hastings, all the men of Sussex, Surrey, and Essex declared their determination of living and dying at his side. Edward's vessels, sent out to oppose Godwine's landing, were dispersed by a storm, and driven back to Sandwich. The earl now sought provisions in the Wight and Portland Isle, was joined by his son Harold, and both boldly advanced to London in defiance of the king, just one year after his outlawry. There were very many in Edward's service who had relations, sons, and friends enlisted in the ranks of Godwine, out of Kent, Sussex, and those parts, and they refused to shed the blood of these rebels; and five delegates from each side, representing the king and Godwine, took the greatest pains to promote goodwill and peace. This council led to the restoration of the earl and all his sons, with the exception of Sweyne. Matthew of Westminster records the violent and unseemly behaviour of Godwine's sons in the presence of the Confessor at the royal table. The scene took place at *Pýndlerhopa*, that is, '*winding-shore*,' contracted into the present Windsor. The body-guards were obliged to rush in and separate the struggling, unnatural combatants. What a state of manners does this one history unfold!

In the year 1053 the death of Godwine was regarded as a national loss, after public peace had been restored. He was taken with his death-stroke at the royal table, and expired in five days. All through his reign, the passive piety of the Confessor was no match for the violence of the times. Godwine's insurrection led to little effusion of blood, but it distracted

and laid bare the bosom of Britain to the Norman swordsman. The historian Lappenberg observes: "Long had the need been felt of an able leader. So soon had the times vanished, in which a descendant of Woden felt but one single shame—that of dying on a bed." The Confessor, in his heart, never forgave Earl Godwine the supposed share taken by the latter at Guildford, in 1036, in the betrayal of Alfred, Ethelred's eldest son, to Harold, who cruelly blinded and imprisoned him; and for which act, long after, the Confessor upbraided the earl, when sitting at the royal table, just before his end.

The following scene describes the last banquet of Godwine, and is taken from Elfric's Saxon Chronicle.

"Sæt he mid ðam cýninge æt gereorde. Ða færunga jah he niðer. wið ðær forseteles gwræce benumen. 7 ealre his mihte. 7 hine man ða bræd into ðær cýniges bupe 7 ðohton ðe hit oferzan sceolde. ac hit nær na gwa. ac ðurh punode gwa ungyppende 7 mihte leaƿ forð oð ðone ðunperðæg 7 ða his lif alet :."

"He was seated at dinner with the king, when he soon sunk down from his seat speechless and quite powerless, and he was carried into the king's private chamber, and it was supposed all would end well. But it was not so: but he still continued thus deprived of speech and strength till the following Thursday and then he expired."

In early life Godwine married Cnut's sister; but their son met an early fate. His grandfather gave him a spirited horse; the young rider pretended to manage the creature, but it ran away with the stripling, and sunk with him into the Thames. His mother was killed by lightning, and her end was deemed a judgment, for her traffic and exportation of English slaves to Denmark, of beautiful girls, whose value would add to her coffers. Godwine's second wife, whose name was Gytha, presented him with sons, named Harold, Sweyne, Tostig, Wulphnoth, Gurth, and Leofwine. Wulphnoth was long a hostage in Normandy to answer for Godwine's behaviour, and died of old age a prisoner at Salisbury in William's reign. Sweyne was disobedient to Godwine, and his brother Harold, and by his acts of piracy brought disgrace upon his family; he went on a pilgrimage of repentance to Jerusalem, for his

sins, and the abduction of Eadgiva, abbess of Leominster, and fell by the hands of the Saracens. The Confessor made Tostig, earl of Northumberland, but eventually he was outlawed by his thanes. His brother, Harold, at first tried to reinstate him in his post, but became convinced of the necessity of giving up his cause, when Tostig, his wife, and children retired into Flanders. Gurth was slain at the conflict near Hastings.

Long before the fair-haired Harolds visited this island, stood, near the ancient Portus Anderida, the bulwarks of Pevensea, under which Godwine drew up two royal vessels, and forty-two ships of the landmen, in rough weather, in the year 1046, just twenty years before the invasion of the Conqueror. How changed is all at Pevensea in the present hour! when we look at the sinking walls, the unroofed keep, and the debris of Roman, Saxon, and Norman masonry, and stand over the original British foundations. The castle of *Æpefenecea*, as it is once spelled in the 'Saxon Chronicle,' was ever the asylum of the unfortunate and refractory barons and bishops in bygone days. In the reign of William Rufus, Odo, the half-brother of the Conqueror, and bishop of Baieux, fled from the vengeance of the king to Pevensea. He was here besieged for six weeks, and Odo was forced to make terms with the besiegers from sheer want of victuals. Brompton the chronicler gives an account of the ruse of the archbishop, which he calls "*Odonis Episcopi astutiam.*" He offered the full surrender of his own person, and promised to give up the fortress of *Roper-cearȝen*, Rochester, and requested to be taken in charge by the royal troopers. But the wily churchman had given notice to his friends at Rochester, and contrived to fall into their hands with his conductors, and both the bishop and his guards were safely lodged in the fastness of Rochester, until the king, by making an extraordinary levy of troops, took the castle, and compelled the captive ecclesiastic to depart upon his foreign travels. It is no uncommon spectacle to behold, on the page of Saxon history, bishops and priests sallying forth, armed cap-à-pie, to the brunt of war; many of the clergy indeed followed the camp, and ministered prayers and holy rites to the warriors, before they rushed to the encounter; and after it was terminated, buried the slain with the ceremonies

appointed by the ancient church, but took no part in the work of slaughter. Some of the highest however, as well as of the inferior clergy, fought like perfect Cids and Scanderbeks. Thus, the said Odo quite rivalled any of the Norman fighters on the decisive day near Hastings; bishops and priests in those days sometimes forgot their proper calling and character. Thus Leofgar, bishop of Hereford, and a true forerunner of the military knights errant of the middle ages, quitted the altar and crosier for the sword, spear, and shield in the year 1056; but he fell at Glastonbury with the rest of his clerical fellow-soldiers. Here we may introduce also the name of Harold's priest, Godric, from Elfric's Chronicle, "Se folclic hys eadmon 7 hys hrode hys gæstlican pæpna 7 fenz to hys sære 7 to hys sære . ." He forsook his chrysm and his rood, his spiritual arms; and grasped his spear and sword. He also perished fighting by the side of Harold, against the Welsh under their King Griffin.

The name of Pevensea occurs under the year 1101, when the royal Henry became apprehensive of an invasion from Robert, duke of Normandy, his brother. Pevensea was the place of rendezvous for the royal forces, which were assembled here in midsummer; but Portsmouth was the point where the war was carried on and amicably terminated. Throughout the reign of the race of Cerdic, Pevensea had often offered a shelter to Sweyn, Godwine, Wulphnoth, and indeed to the domestic and rebellious subjects of the Saxon crown, as well as to the pirates and Danish vi-kings commanding the channel.

We now quit the east for the west of Sussex, and the most interesting spot, as connected with the last days of the Saxon rule in this county, is that of old Bosenham, now contracted into Bosham, or the manor of Bosa. Very early in Saxon times Bosenham was distinguished for its ecclesiastical importance and affluence. Herbert de Bosham, the friend of Thomas à Becket, was born here; and there was an archbishop of York called Bosa. In the reign of the Confessor the benefice of Bosenham possessed 112 hides of land; but one hide, a half-hide, or from 50 to 500 acres, according to the parochial extent, usually formed the amount of the

support of a church. This was a very rich piece of preferment, and led to frequent litigations. In the year 1046, Edward the Confessor put out to sea for Sandwich, with a great naval armament, and Earl Sweyne arrived at Bosenham with seven vessels, and entered into a treaty with the king, in which the Confessor stipulated by promise to restore to the earl all the dignities and possessions which he had ever enjoyed. Harold was at this time driven out of the royal vessel previously under his command, and with his brother Tostig, arriving at Pevensea, was detained by contrary weather. Bosenham was celebrated for its superior church, and is recorded in the far-famed Bayeux tapestry. How far it exactly portrays Bosenham church, we cannot say; but there it stands, with nave, and tower, and adjuncts. In the modern Bosenham the church still contains a monument erected, according to tradition, to the memory of the daughter of King Canute, or for a child of the unfortunate Harold. In the year 1059, seven years before his brief reign and violent end, we read of Harold's sojourn at his farm in Bosenham. At this juncture he was induced to go out to sea in a pleasure-boat, but was unable to regain the British shore, and was carried away to the opposite coast by the violence of the winds. Harold had been at his farm. Why at his farm? With what kindly sentiments is associated that little old Saxon word *feorm*, or farm, and the hospitable wassail-bowl consecrated to hospitality, called by the Saxons *gebeorpcipe*, literally *beership*, as Cadmon describes it, in the *beop-jelar-beopna*, beer-halls of chieftains.

In the rude feasts of the Scandinavian Sweynes and Hapald Hapfager, Harold the Fair-haired, the Saga-man recalled the memory of past events in prose narratives as the Skalds did in verse, before the national annals were committed to written documents, in their Pagan and early Christian state. A favorite hero of these romances was Harold "Blue-tooth;" a favorite ode was that of the heroic deeds and death of the Danish king, Ragnar Lodbrok, in England. These songs were sung at dawn of day before great battles, as was the case in the carousing camp of the Saxons before the fight at Battel.

The days of old revive at the sight of Hastings, still bearing the name of the arch-pirate. In the year 1066, the blue-

eyed Confessor died in peace ; Malmsbury observes, that the progeny of the West-Saxons, which had reigned in Britain successively from Cerdic five hundred and seventy-one years, from Egbert two hundred and sixty-one, entirely ceased with the Confessor. An ancient record describes Earl Harold as "*invading the throne of England at the feast of the Epiphany in Lambeth, where, without the sanction of the nobility, he placed the diadem on his brow with his own hand.*" But Harold's lucky star instantly turned pale, and was evidently sinking ; but how very short and meagre, restrained apparently by fear of the Normans, is the account furnished in the 'Saxon Chronicle' of the most momentous event, that marked European history in the eleventh century. It is only this ; we give the Saxon words and the translation.

"*ƿom ƿillelm eorl up æt ƿeſtminſter on ge Micæles mæsse dæg. 7 Harold com norðan 7 him ƿið gefeahc ear þan þe his hefe come eall. 7 þær he feoll 7 his trægen gebroðra Gýrð 7 Leofwine. and ƿillelm ƿis land geeode.*"

"Earl William landed at Hastings on St. Michael's Mass-day, and Harold came from the north and fought with him before his whole army arrived ; and there he fell, and his two brothers, Gurth and Leofwine ; and William got the mastery over this country."

In the accounts of the invasion we read that the ship Mora, bearing the future monarch, ominously protruded above the keel a youthful archer shooting with full-bent bow, to signify the work of Norman vengeance. Some days before the great battle, the country in the neighbourhood of Hastings was turned into a perfect desert, and a desert it remained for twenty years. This work of destruction is repeatedly alluded to in Domesday Book, and after the mention of several manors,² that had once been the property of Godwine, Harold, and the countess Goda, the Confessor's sister, in each case it is added, "*vastatum fuit.*" Two circumstances are copied here from trustworthy accounts : first, that the brave Saxons, before the Norman charge reached them, shouted ƿalig hƿode : halig cƿuce : Mæghcig God. : Holy rood ! holy cross ! Mighty God !—and secondly, that an unknown Saxon horseman rode

² See *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II, p. 57.

on every side through the battle-field opening the way of death, when a lucky sword-cut might have cast down the Norman chieftain, who rode triumphant over Harold's begrimed and stiffened corpse: this champion also followed to the other world his ill-fated master.

The slaughter of the Saxon thanes, was followed by wholesale confiscations and forfeitures: one hundred and eighteen manors, afterwards in William's hands, once belonged to Harold, nine to Godwine, eighteen to Gheda, the mother of Harold. The kingdom of the race of Cerdic was no more; and Sussex, the cradle of the greatness of the house of Godwine, was its grave. Harold fell, in a *melée*, in which a bow drawn at venture propelled the arrow which decided the fate of nations, piercing through the casque into the brain of the brave. As long as Harold remained safe and alive, the victory was doubtful and the event delayed. "*Haroldi vita moram fecit*," says the Chronicler. A Norman soldier cut through his leg as he was prostrate; but William banished the cowardly assailant from his ranks; William himself, though all day exposed to a shower of missiles, lost not one drop of blood. Never more was Harold to wear his diadem; that he had crowned himself, says Kemble, is an old story: but it is very certain that whatever he did, was done with the full consent of the Witena-Gemot, or Parliament.

The priests in Normandy and Britain now stepped forward in churches and cathedrals to perform sepulchral rites over the slain, to chant the Dirige or Dirge, and the De profundis for the repose of their souls: at the great high altars a thousand lights cast a dim religious light over the biers of fallen greatness, and the incense wafted its fragrance over unconscious ashes. The priests, sympathizing with the sad survivors, hand in hand surrounded the opened tombs, singing alternate Misereres with the organ, and the deepest tower-bell overpowered the softly diminishing tones of the Requiem; then all was hushed, and lights extinguished. But for generations the worshippers were reminded of the slain at the sight of these words, "*Orate pro anima*."

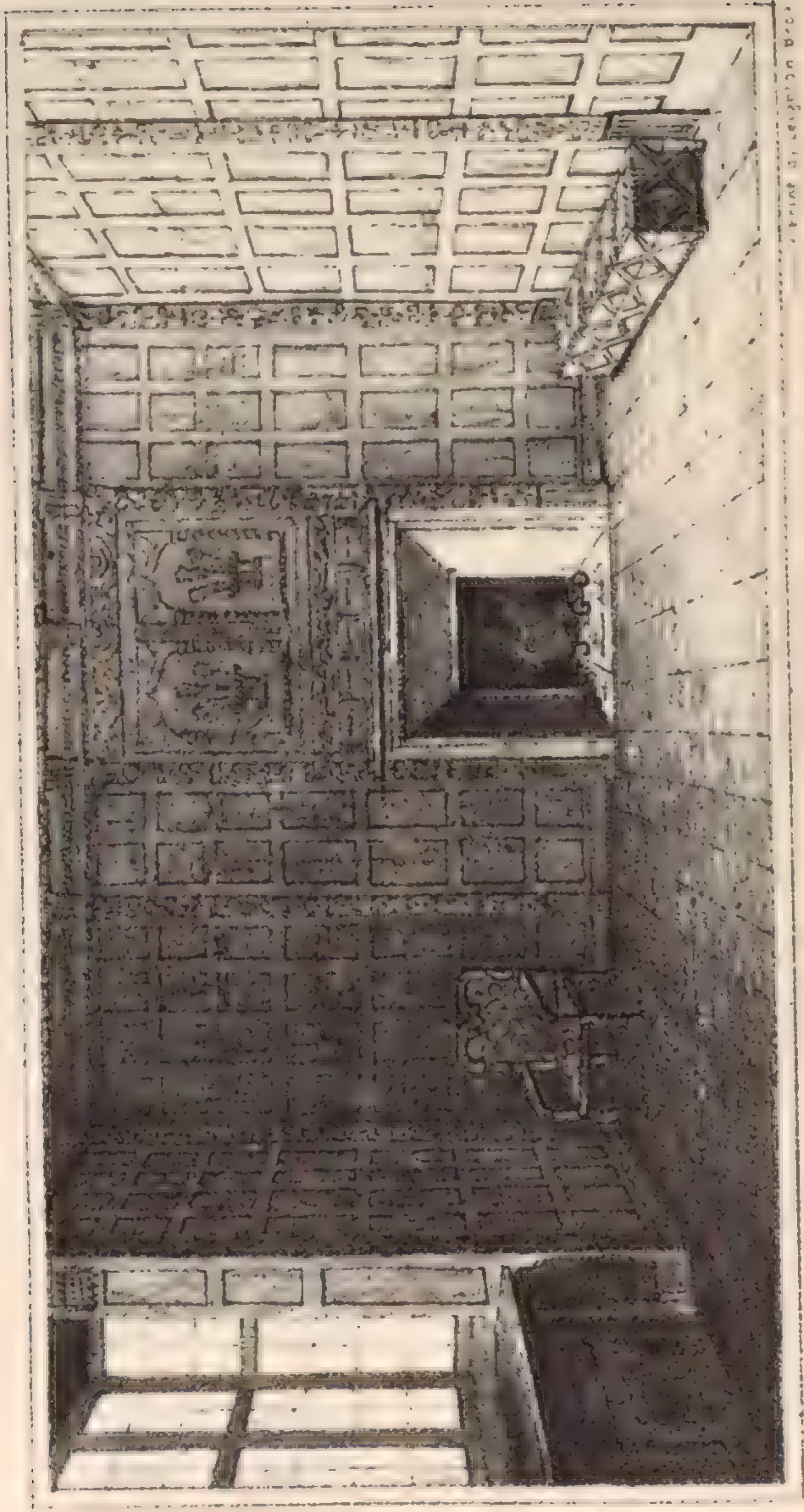
England reared Saxon heroes, Saxon monarchs, saints, and

martyrs. The historian now asks, why then did not England's national tragedian present them on his pages? Was the bard a stranger to all Odin's children, to all Saxon sagas, minstrelsy, and traditions? We believe Shakespeare was no stranger to these memorabilia. But where is St. Oswald, king and warrior, who fell fighting in defence of Christianity and liberty against Penda, and reposed at Bardney Abbey, gorgeously enshrined with a banner of gold and purple suspended over his remains?—where is St. Eadmund, king and martyr, holy in life, and brave in tortures to the death?—what a subject for the tragic muse was Eadward the martyr, and Eadwig, and the resolute Alfred, the buckler of his country! How many holy and brave Saxons scarcely live in memory, whose blood still flows in our veins, whose fair features and light locks have descended to their female descendants, and their sinewy frames to the present Normano-Saxon generation! The English are the children of the conquered and the conquerors. The landing of Julius Cæsar was a great event in its day, and yet produced no such lasting results as the descent of William, which inspired the “*Carmen de bello Hæstingensi*,” improperly attributed to Lanfranc. But from the day of Hastings to this hour, the castle, now a perfect ruin, marks the spot chosen for the historic *Hæstingæ-ceaster*, the residence of Rufus during the consecration of the abbey in 1094. Long afterwards, England teemed with battle-fields, with ruined castles, blood-stained battlements, the traitor's chains, and the misrule of men in armour. The hall and the dungeon, the revel and the scaffold, the dirge and the tournament, the dance and the litany, succeeded in turns. Havoc marked the Conqueror's steps! Malmsbury gives the following sketch:

“Incited by different motives, both Normans and English have written of King William: the former have praised him to excess, alike extolling to the utmost his good and his bad actions; while the latter, out of national hatred, have laden their conqueror with undeserved reproach. For my part, as the blood of both people flows in my veins, I shall steer a middle course: where I am certified of his good deeds, I openly proclaim them; his bad conduct I shall touch upon sparingly, though not to conceal it.”

William is said to have been opposed to the lawless plundering acts of his soldiers, and to have issued orders to

restrain them, which they disobeyed. The last standard ever raised by the Saxons was dispatched by the Conqueror as a present to the Pontiff; it represented a human figure in the attitude of combat, richly and tastefully bedecked with gold and jewels. While Harold's grave at Waltham, with the brief but touching inscription, "Hic jacet Harold infelix," was long visited by his Saxon brethren.



Interior of room Street Place

ON STREAT PLACE,
THE ANCIENT MANSION OF THE DOBELLS.

BY W. H. BLAAUW, ESQ.

With two Lithographs, from Drawings by Miss FitzHugh.

(READ AT THE ALFRISTON MEETING, OCT. 1850.)

THE name of Streat, applied to the long, narrow parish stretching from the South Downs into the Weald, seems so forcibly to denote the passage of a Roman road (*via strata*) in this direction, that there is little doubt that the connexion of such a line with the general system of Roman roads in this district will be traced on any comprehensive survey of that subject. The ancient mansion of Streat Place is pleasantly situated on the summit of the first hill north of the downs, and necessarily enjoys a wide range of view over the surrounding country. The manor, of which the venerable Jacobean dwelling is the representative, after passing through the families of Say, Fiennes, and Goring, was transferred by Sir George Fleetwood to Walter Dobell, Oct. 10, 1607; and he held his first manorial court on Nov. 6, that year (Burrell MS. 5684, p. 422). Walter Dobell had obtained in 1604 from the illustrious Camden a confirmation of his coat of arms (sable, a hind passant between three bells argent), and there is every reason to suppose that soon after his obtaining the property the present building was erected, as the general style of the architecture agrees well with that period, although there was a previously existing building referred to in a grant of Gregory, Lord Dacre, in 1562 as a "capital messuage or manor-house lying in Streate." (Burrell MS. 5684, p. 294). Like so many other ancient mansions in Sussex, Streat Place faces east and west, the principal front, 86 feet long, being to the east, and retaining its wings, projecting 22 feet, and angular gables, built of flints with quoins, mullions and copings of stone.

There are no arms or initials about the house, and the whole style is solid and plain, fit for the residence of a gentleman of moderate means in that age. A smaller door more to the north of this front has been added in later times, but the principal entrance was by the central doorway, with some foliage in the spandrels surmounted with a pediment, which led into a large hall, now subdivided and converted into a kitchen. Some offices have been taken down at the back on the west side, where now is seen externally the rude contrivance of working the jack by a rope with a heavy stone at the end, passing over a wheel. A high terrace walk, running east and west, bounded the Mount Garden on the south, with an architectural summer-house. The southern wall of the front court separated it from the churchyard, a vicinity to the church often occurring to ancient manor-houses, the convenience of which must have been still more prized in those days, when the roads of Sussex were so deep in mire, that they rather indicated the direction of a journey, than afforded any facilities for accomplishing it.

In the church are two marble monuments of the Dobell family; and in the chancel a tablet records that a Mrs. Martha Cogger died in 1765, "*a Pattern of Piety and Politeness.*"

Among the valuable collection of Sussex drawings in the British Museum (Burrell MS. 5672, f. 9) is a coloured one of the principal front, much as it now remains "Streete Place, the ancient seat of the family of Dobell, S. H. Grimm, fecit 1785," and also an enlarged view of the central doorway. The front has been engraved in Clarke's 'Elizabethan Architecture.'

The room on the first floor occupying the south wing of the front, appears to have been a study, if we may judge from the decoration of its oaken panels and cornice, with numerous Latin mottoes. It is about twenty feet square, with one bay window to the east, and, as shown in the lithograph, exhibits its original panels divided by slender pilasters of carved work, which support a cornice along which numerous wise maxims and moral sentences are carved. The door is projected inwards by wainscot panels, near the north-west corner of the room, and the lithograph represents the general character of the decorations. Though age has now deranged the symmetry of the oaken panels, and some of the classical



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Door of room Street Place.

and quaint Latin sentences have slipped out of their places, yet there still remains about it much of the genuine aspect of a calm, gentlemanly place of study. Beginning from the south of the window, the cornice exhibits the following words, all in capital letters—

Deus æternitas atque principium; a vacancy then occurs, formerly occupied, perhaps, by *Qui non vetat peccare cum ...* On a loose broken board in the cupboard: *Ira quæ tegitur nocet—Sæpe in magistrum scelera redierunt sua*; possibly an allusion to the Gunpowder Plot, then recent. *Non annorum canicies est laudanda sed morum*, is over the fireplace; and next comes, *Flagrantior æquo non debet dolor esse viri nec vulnere major*. The allusion of these last two to early excellence and the need of moderating grief, placed near the two small carved arches, each of which inclose the three ostrich feathers, with *Ich Dien* beneath, seem plainly to refer to the premature death of Henry, prince of Wales, in his eighteenth year, and the date of that event, 1612, may indicate the time when this room was fitted up. The next on the cornice is, *Magis placet Deo humilitas in malis quam superbia in bonis*. The door then intervenes, having on one side of the projection, *Nil temere*, on the other *Nil timide*, and in front *Est quoddam prodire tenus*, and *Rara in tenui facundia panno*. On the side of the room opposite the fireplace appear, *Sors omnia versat—Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum—Quod contra singulos utilitate publica rependetur—Quæ tua sunt serva*; and after a vacancy, *Redde cuique sua—Qui nil potest sperare desperet nihil—O quam miserum est nescire mori*:—and in the recess of the window, *A Giove principium*.

Walter Dobell was probably a quiet, loyal man, fond of displaying his scholarship under the reign of the royal Solomon, James I, and he was buried here Feb. 10th, 1625. But more stirring times soon came on, and his cavalier descendant is said by tradition to have contrived here a hidden asylum during the civil wars, the entrance of which was up the great hall chimney. The story is still current, that the security of this refuge was on one emergency put to a wonderful proof, for a man on horseback, when hard pressed by the pursuit of the Parliamentary troopers, galloped into the hall, and neither man nor horse could ever

afterwards be discovered. We are not indeed obliged to believe all the details of this legend, but it needs little evidence to prove that some hiding-place had been contrived in the house to shelter a fugitive. Such retreats are found in many other old Sussex mansions, and, in the unhappy periods of religious strife, or of political tumult, were resorted to alternately by priest or puritan, roundhead or cavalier. The mystery of such asylums was partially preserved down to more peaceful times, and the imperfect knowledge of their existence may have been treasured up to facilitate smugglers, or, we may venture to add, those noisy ghosts, which were wont to haunt such houses.

The estimation of Streat in the eyes of the Dobell family was lowered in the seventeenth century, when they received the bequest of Folkington Place, near Hailsham, and to that situation they removed early in the eighteenth century, after which Streat is only referred to as a farm-house. The stately mansion of Folkington may be seen engraved in tom. I, pl. 67, of the 'Theatre de la Grande Bretagne, par L. Knyff et I. Kipp, 1724,' being selected, with Stanstead and Up Park, as the only representatives of Sussex in the five folio volumes.

It was probably from the Thomas family, who had intermarried with the Springetts (for so the name is spelt on their tombs in Ringmer church), that the following curious double acrostic came into the possession of the Dobells and their present heirs. The occasion which called forth the laborious poetry of this 'epithalamie,' piously composed under the prevailing influence of the Protectorate, with only one passing allusion to profane Hymen, was the marriage of Elizabeth, the second daughter of Sir Herbert Springett, created a baronet at the Restoration, of Broyle Place, in Ringmer, to John Whalley, Esquire (as his share of the acrostic testifies), also of Ringmer. But the good wishes for the bride were unfortunately not fulfilled, for she died in 1660, at the early age of twenty-two, followed in a few months by her father. The original, on vellum, with emblazoned heraldry, and illuminated with two flaming hearts beneath an ethereal crown, and the motto *Deus corda coronat*, has something of the look of a valentine; but as the name of the author, probably one of

family or a puritan minister, does not appear, it cannot be added to the brilliant list of Sussex poets.

An Epithalamie, presented on the names and nuptialls of the much honoured CAP. JOHN WHALLEY, Esquire, and the right vertuous lady, ELIZA SPRINGATE, his most endeared consort.

DEUS CORDA CORONAT.

Invoke no Muses, lett your wedding songs
 Express the words of men and angels' tongues;
 Or let a Solomon the Song reberse,
 Lett him heere turne the Canticles to verse.
 Here is a subject fitts it, where their love
 Imitates theirs that are in heaven above.
 Noe dull and earthly flame, but what divine
 Zeale kindles, not to Consume, but to refine.
 Welcome faire couple to the nuptiall tye,
 A tye soe sacred that the Deitie.
 Had it in Eden first, and did it prize
 Beyond the chiefest flower in Paradise.
 And may the joyes and places where you are
 Eden's resemble, and with them Compare.
 Lett her a Paradise seeme unto him,
 To her may hee be as the Cherubim.
 Lett Christ as hee at Cana with you dyne,
 Haveing turn'd all your water into wyne,
 Your sorrowes into joyes, which nere shall cease,
 Still multiplying as your dayes increase,
 Encrease in issue, and may they too prove
 Pledges of yours, and also of Heaven's Love,
 So vertuous and so good, as for to bee
 Right heires of you and of Eternitie,
 Quelling all vice, and when the day shall come
 In which each one shall looke for his last doome,
 Upon Christ's wedding-day, when the eighth spheare
 New turn'd to a Bridechamber shall appeare
 Inlightened with starrs, which all shall turne
 Glorious Torches, and as Hymen's burne.
 Rais'd to this Bliss, may ye the Bridegroom's throne
 Attend, haveing your Wedding Garments on.
 Etheriall Wedding garments, such as bee
 The rich white robes of Immortalitie.
 Eternall thus shall bee your nuptiall bliss.
 Christ beeing at your Wedding, you at His.

It may be as well, after this pious canticle, to mention that the families both of the bridegroom and the bride, were grievously infected with dangerous principles. In the earliest list of officers of the army, who obeyed the parliamentary generals rather than the king, is "Edward Whalley, cornet in the 60th troop," and, as colonel he formed one of the high court of justice which brought King Charles I to the scaffold. "Herbert Springate, Esq., of the Broyle," was, in April, 1643, appointed by the parliament one of the commissioners to confiscate the estates of his royalist neighbours in Sussex. We must suppose that, by some recantation, he had appeased them, and had by some intrigues, earned his baronetcy from the restored monarch.

The names of some of the Rectors of Streat are thus recorded :—

	A. D.
William Lashmer	æd. 30, in 1570
John Tyllinghurst, the elder, Rector from 1595	buried 25th Mar. 1624
James Inians	Rector in 1633-4
John Tyllinghurst, the younger	from 29th Sept. 1637 to 1670
John Citizen	buried 2d Oct. 1721
Adam Sixmith	from 4th Dec. 1721 to 10th Aug. 1734
Edward Wilson	resigned 1736
William Hampton, 1752	buried 17th Dec. 1759
Richard Bridger, 20th Aug. 1760	resigned 1777
Jonathan Morgan, 18th Feb. 1777.	

Some extracts follow from the Account-Book of William Dobell Esq., who died June 16, 1752, æt. 68; and, as preserving the local prices of various articles in his time, may be interesting.

MONEY'S DISBURS'D.

Feb. 1st, 1708-9	For letters and mails	00 08 00
	For pockett money	00 02 00
	For wine and expenses a sending for it	11 00 08
	Put into my pockett	01 00 00
	To Peter Marchant, for a wigg	03 04 06
	For driving my beasts to London	01 01 06
	To Goodman Clifton, for sixteen brawings and a fine sieve	01 02 00
	Put into my pockett	00 08 00

March 1st . .	Given Mr. Edwards for reading prayers . .	04 06 00
	Put into my pocket . .	01 00 00
April 1st . .	To Goodman Page, for 2 quarters of oats . .	01 04 00
July . . .	Peter Marchant, for a new wigg, and altering two	04 10 00
December 3d	Goodman Boys, for a load of straw . .	01 12 00
	Goody Balcombe, for 1 year's teaching school due at Mich ^a	03 00 00
Jan. 1st, 1710-11	Given to the musicke	01 00 00
	For the excise of 40 quarters of Malt . .	18 03 00
	Given Mr. Edwardes, for reading prayers . .	04 00 06
	For a cow and calf	04 06 00
July 5th . .	To Mr. Courthope, for 1 gallon of oyl, he bought for me	00 17 00
	For reaping 18 acres of wheat	07 00 00
Sep. 17th, 1712-3	Peter Marchant, for a wigg	03 00 00
February . .	Two bushells of apples to John Watkyns . .	00 10 00
	To Peter Marchant, for a wigg	03 00 00
	To Edward Peirce, for 8 bushells of nonsuch seed	00 14 00
July	Fee for venison	01 10 00
November 14th	To Will. Grayling, for 3 young hogs . .	01 01 00
December 12th	Payd Thos. Fowler, for his boys following my old sheep 18 weeks	01 16 00
January 1st .	Payd Peter Marchant, for a short wigg, and altering another	03 04 06
Feb. 2d, 1713-4	Payd Mr. Henry Gibbs, 100 lbs. of hops . .	05 03 00
April . . .	Payd Mr. Pillbend, for 28 lbs. of raisons . .	00 09 00
July 5th . .	Bought two cows	07 00 00
	Payd Mr. Skinner, for 19 ells and $\frac{1}{2}$ of holland .	07 06 00
August . . .	Payd Goodman Bankes, for 20 bushells of wheat	06 10 00
	Payd Wooton, mowers for cutting 8 acres of grass	00 13 04
January . . .	Payd Mr. Blownupp, for 2 marble chimney pieces and 2 fire hearths	08 17 00
Feb. 4th, 1714-5	For a gown and cap	05 11 10
	Given Mr. Coppard, for letting me blood . .	00 05 00
April	Payd Barrett, for looking after my clocks, due at Lady Day last	00 07 06
March, 1715-6	Payd to Goodman Cooner, for rabbitts . .	02 14 00
Feb. 1716-17 .	Payd French, of Milton Street, for 20 bushells of peas	02 10 00
	Goodman, for rabbitts	02 17 04
1717-18 . .	Payd Thos. Buis, for 2 qrs. of peas	02 00 00
May 3d . . .	Payd Thos. Polington, for 5 doz. port wine . .	03 17 00
April, 1718-19	Payd for two shirts, for my blind gardiner . .	00 09 00
September . .	Payd my brother, for two lottery ticketts . .	06 02 06
	Payd John Pierce, for a hat for my blind gardiner	00 04 10
June 1719-20 .	Payd John Pierce in full, for meat and 3 qts. of soap	13 18 00
December . .	To Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards, for beef, 4 stone .	01 09 00
March	Payd for a pilion and cloth	01 03 00

April, 1720-21	For two pair of buckskin breeches . . .	02 10 00
„ 1721-22	To Peter Marchant, for a short wigg . . .	04 04 00
July . . .	To John Pursglove, for a pair of coach horses .	23 02 00
November . .	Payd Mrs. Stanner, for a piece of satin and brooms	02 09 00
Jan. 1722-23 .	Payd Peter Marchant, for a wigg . . .	04 04 00
May . . .	Payd John Pierce, in full for meat . . .	03 08 06
	To him a bill also for sheep and a pair of shoes	02 08 06
Jan. 1723-24 .	Payd my wife a year's pin money due the 10th July last	100 00 00
	To my wife, for tea	03 14 00
September . .	To my wife, towards housekeeping . . .	02 00 00
	Payd for 1 lb. of green tea	00 18 00

From 1725 to 1741, there are various entries of payments for sheep.

- 1725—5s. 3d. a lamb, and 7s. 6d. for young sheep.
- 1726—5s. 6d. a lamb, and 8s. 6d. for young sheep.
- 1727—6s. 0d. a lamb, per 100 ; 5s. a lamb, per score ; 8s. for young sheep.
- 1729—7s. 6d. a lamb, 10s. 6d. for young sheep.
- 1730—7s. 0d. a lamb, 10s. for young sheep.
- 1731—6s. 0d. a lamb, 7s. for young sheep.
- 1732—6s. 0d. a lamb, per 100 ; 5s. 6d. per score ; young sheep 8s. 6d. for 80 ; 8s. for a score.
- 1733—5s. 0s. a lamb, 7s. 6d. young sheep, per 100 ; 7s. per score,
- 1737—5s. 0d. a lamb, per 100 ; 4s. per score.
- 1741—5s. 6d. for stock lambs.
- 1742—6s. 6d. each, for 220 lambs.

There are recorded in the accounts from 1737 to 1750 the bottling of sundry wines, such as French Claret—Red Oporto wine—White Oporto wine—Frontignac—Mountain.

- 1732—Payd Sir Walter Parker, for half an hogshead of Claret 11 19 06
- Payd Mr. Nathaniel Trayton for 5 galls. 1 pint of
Arrack 03 12 00

In the latter half of the 18th century the property of the Dobells passed, by marriage, into the family of Lane, in whose possession Streat Place remains, and is now occupied as a farm-house. By various members of the family of the present proprietor, many of the materials for the present notice have been kindly supplied.

THE VESSELS OF THE CINQUE PORTS, AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT.

BY W. H. BLAAUW, ESQ.

(PARTLY READ AT THE HASTINGS MEETING, 1848.)

To the works illustrating the charters and privileges of the Cinque Ports by former writers, particularly Samuel Jeakes, a native of Rye, and W. Boys, many important additions have been contributed by the recent researches of Sir Harris Nicolas in his well authenticated History of the Navy, by Mr. Holloway as to Rye, and by our member, Mr. W. Durrant Cooper, in his excellent History of Winchelsea. By the aid of such materials the antiquarian enquirer can trace with interest the scattered notices of the ships of the early inhabitants of the English coast, the small beginnings of a mighty power, and, though surrounded by huge men-of-war and screw steamers, may look back without contempt on the skin-covered baskets in which the ancient Britons embarked, when it is seen that Cæsar, the greatest general of his age, avowedly copied these coracles, in order to cross a river in Gaul.

“When all the passages were blocked up by the enemy, and bridges could not be made, Cæsar ordered his soldiers to make vessels of the kind, which his experience in Britain in former years had taught him. Keels and futtocks (*carinæ et statumina*) were first made of slight material; the rest of the hulk of the vessels, constructed of wicker, was covered over with skins.” (1, 54.)

For many centuries the ports and creeks of our island were frequented by small open undecked vessels, their prows carved into a rude resemblance of men, lions, or serpents, with a square sail on a single mast, and crews to whom the contrivance of a rudder and the guidance of a compass were unknown. The long and narrow keels (*ceols*) under the Anglo-Saxons did not exceed fifty tons, and as well as the *æscs* (which from being built of ash probably gave name to the Ascomanni pirates) were drawn up on shore without difficulty. Vessels

of a larger size were built by Alfred in 897 to defend the south coast from the northern æscs.

“They were full nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, and some had more; they were both swifter and steadier and also higher.” (Sax. Chron.)

Two of the Danish æscs after a battle with these near the Isle of Wight “were so damaged that they could not row round the South Saxon land, and were cast ashore, and the men hanged.”

In the tenth century the construction of sea-going vessels was expressly encouraged by the ancient laws of K. Edward and Guthrum.

“If a merchant thrive so that he fared thrice over the wide sea by his own craft, then was he ofthane-right worthy.” (P. 81.)

It may be incidentally remarked, that this was not the only test of successful industry established by these laws, the free spirit of which may be considered to be in force to the present day. “Fully five hides of his own land, church and kitchen, bell-house and burh-gate-seat, and special duty in the king’s hall” also entitled a ceorl to rise in the social class.

In 851 “Athelstan, who reigned over the South Saxons, and the caldorman Ealchere fought on shipboard, and slew a great number of the enemy (Danes) at Sandwich in Kent, and took nine ships and put the others to flight.” (Sax. Chron.)

Some years afterwards, in 894, the Danes were repulsed near Chichester by the South Saxons, who “took some of their ships.”

In 994 Sussex was so harassed by invasions, that the enemy, “who wrought the utmost evil that ever any army could do, by burning and plundering and by man-slaying,” was bought off by money, and in 998 the same cowardly expedient took place. “So soon as they should have joined battle, flight began,” and the Danes “sat down in Wight, and got their food the while from Hampshire and from Sussex.” (Sax. Chron.) This continued in 1001, when “nor any fleet by sea durst meet them, nor land force either, went they up ever so far.” (Sax. Chron.) A treacherous massacre of the Danes in 1002 was resorted to, but cruelty could not give skill or courage, and after K. Ethelred in 1008 had

“commanded that ships should be speedily built throughout the English nation, that is, from 310 hides one vessel, and from eight hides a helmet and coat of mail,” an order which gathered 800 vessels at Sandwich, being a greater number than ever before known, “still we had not the good fortune nor the worthiness, that the ship force could be of any use to this land, any more than it had oft before been.” Inglorious indeed was the result of this great effort, for Wulnoth, the South Saxon, father of Earl Godwin, with twenty ships “ravaged the south coast and wrought every kind of evil;” while the superior navy of the king struggled in vain against the winds which wrecked, and the enemy who burned their ships; “then was it, as if all was hopeless, and the king went his way home, and the caldorman, and the high-witan, and thus lightly left the ships.” (Sax. Chron.) Again and again was Sussex overrun with impunity, so that in 1014 such degradation induced the country to resort to the strength of a foreign power, “and all the fleet then chose Cnut for king,” (Sax. Chron.) to whom forty of king Ethelred’s ships were betrayed the next year by Eadric the caldorman.

Amid such scenes of cowardice and treachery, how little could it have been then foreseen that the navy of England would ever rise to an eminence justifying Lord Coke’s animated eulogy.

“The king’s navy exceeds all others in the world for three things, viz. beauty, strength, and safety: for beauty, they are so many royal palaces; for strength, so many moving castles and barbicans; and for safety, they are the most defensive walls of the realm. Amongst the ships of other nations, they are like lions among silly beasts, or falcons among fearful fowle.” (4 Inst.)

It seems strange to find in these disgraceful days of the Anglo-Saxon shipping, the pomp of decoration studied, and to read of the vessel given by Earl Godwin to K. Hardicanute, probably reserved for his royal use; its prow was gilded, and each of the eighty crew wore two golden armlets of 16 oz. each, with their helmets, swords, battle-axes, and shields also studded with gold. (Flor. Worc. A.D. 1048^o.)

About this time the regular force kept up and paid for by taxation seems to have been sixteen ships, paying eight mares to each rower. The Confessor took a personal interest about the navy; “King Edward and the earls went with their ships,”

(Sax. Chron.) and their fleet lay prepared at Sandwich, in 1049, in readiness to assist the emperor in Flanders. This gave opportunity for the Earl Swein's cruel stratagem against his cousin Beorn, decoying him away from his father Godwin at Pevensey, under pretence of joining the king at Sandwich, instead of which he hurried him away to Bosham, and from thence carried him off to Dartmouth, where he murdered him. "A little before that, the men of Hastings and thereabouts fought two of his (Swein's) ships with their ships, and slew all the men, and brought the ships to Sandwich to the king," who discharged nine ships from pay. The unsettled allegiance of the fleet was again displayed at Bosham in 1051, when Godwin and Swein there "shoved out their ships, and betook themselves beyond sea." And when Godwin, on his return in 1052, "enticed to him all the men of Kent, and all the butse-karls¹ from Hastings and everywhere there by the sea-coast, and all the east end, and Sussex and Surry, and much else in addition thereto, they all declared that they with him would live and die." (Sax. Chron.) His son, Harold, might perhaps have used the personal and local influence of his family with advantage at sea, had he not unluckily dismissed his fleet assembled on these coasts to resist the Norman invasion, a fortnight before it actually took place, thinking the season then too far advanced. In the Bayeux tapestry we can still see the small Norman vessels of the invader drawn up near the shore, with their one mast lowered towards the prow, and the horses leaping over the gunwhales.

That towns not only on the coast, but those inland, as Oxford, Leicester, Worcester, &c., were legally liable to furnish the king with ships before the Conquest, is proved by Domesday. In Lewes 20s. were collected to pay the crews "if the king wished to send an armament to guard the seas, without his personal attendance." From the same record (1, 336) we may learn something of the cost of such a burden, a carucate of land being given to Uthel by the Conqueror in exchange for a ship. In the next century, 1130, an allowance of 40s. was made to the sheriff of Durham for two ships.

¹ Burre-kaplar, the crews of the busses, (buccia, bussa, Lat.) wide vessels, often used for transports.

The towns on the coast of Sussex, as being peculiarly exposed to hostile attacks, had every inducement to keep in readiness a considerable force of hardy mariners for their own interest, as well as in obedience to the requisitions of the king. To them the summary writs for such aid were immediately directed, on all occasions of intended expeditions or alarms, after the establishment of the duties and privileges of the Cinque Ports, on which ample information has been given by authors. There are extant many of the urgent circulars of King John, directing all the ships on the coast to be suddenly impressed; such orders being forwarded to every port the very hour of their receipt, by messengers travelling night and day. In 1205 the bailiffs of Shoreham were thus ordered "to find a good and secure ship, without regard to price, for W. de Aune, our knight, and twenty bowmen, to carry them over in our service." (Rot. Lib. 5^o.) In 1208 the Cinque Ports were in this manner required to choose, by personal inspection, the best and strongest men for his galleys (*ad eskipandas galias nostras*), under the strange direction of the archdeacon of Taunton, William de Wrotham. This naval ecclesiastic continued long in activity, being employed in 1212 to inclose the docks (*exclusa*) at Portsmouth, for keeping the king's stores and tackle. He had several rectories given him, in reward of his services, before his death in 1217. The royal galleys were, at this time, under Alan Junior (perhaps the son of Alan Tranchemer, K. Richard's the First's captain), Walter Scott, Vincent of Hastings, and Wymund of Winchelsea.

One of the proudest achievements of the Cinque Ports navy owed its success to the loyal zeal of Hubert de Burgh, in 1217. Under every discouragement of inferior force and reluctant crews he disanchored from Dover, as if intending to sail to Calais, and after thus gaining the windward of the French fleet who were watching him, he tacked round upon them,² threw quicklime into their eyes, cut the ropes on their yards, so that their sails fell down upon them "as a net upon

² "Calcem vivam—vento illam ferente—audacter a tergo irruerunt." (Roger Wend.)
 "Habens secum quosdam de Quinque Portubus maris peritos perrexerunt obliquando tamen dracenam, id est, *loof*, ac si vellent adire Calesiam—versa dracena ex transverso, vento jam eis secundo, irruerunt." (Mat. Paris.)

birds," and soon re-entered Dover in triumph with his captives.

An incidental proof of the repute in which Hastings was held for the construction of ships is afforded by the singular tenure of land in Kent at Livingsborne, now Beksbourn, which was held by sergeantry (*de sergeancia Domini Regis*), to provide a vessel for the king's own use (*in quolibet passagio suo*). This office is named by K. Henry I, as "*ministerium de Esnetka mea de Hasteng*," when he confirmed it to William de Bec, as having been long held by him and his predecessors.³ This favourite yacht, the descriptive name of which (derived from Anglo-Saxon, *Snecca*) is still preserved to us in the word "*smack*," is frequently mentioned, as employed especially for the conveyance of royal personages: in 1166 for King Henry II in Lent, and for the king of Scots, and Prince Geoffry; in 1176 for the king's daughter on her voyage to Sicily; and in 1185 for the queen and the duke of Saxony. The sum of £7. 10s. seems to have been paid every time it was used, apparently for the crew only, as the keeper himself had a regular payment of 12*d.* a day from the Exchequer, according to a royal grant (between 1162 and 1169), witnessed by the archbishop and several bishops.

Among the earliest articles of war are those established by Cœur de Lion, at Chinon, previous to embarking at Marseilles, in 1190, for the crusades. These regulations, adopted by the advice of a council, and probably enforced on subsequent expeditions by sea, exhibit striking practices of stern severity, some of which are not yet obsolete.

"Whoever should kill a man on board ship, let him be thrown overboard, bound to the corpse; if he kill him on shore, let him be buried in the earth with the dead; if he draw a knife to strike with, and blood ensue, let him lose his fist; if he strike with his open hand, without bloodshed, let him be dipped three times into the sea:⁴ let a thief, convicted of theft, be shaven like a champion,⁵ and let boiling pitch be poured on his head, and the feathers

³ *Abbr. Placit.*; *Gent. Mag.*, N. S., VIII, p. 20; *Nicolas' Hist. R. Navy*, p. 432; *Archæologia*, VI, p. 116; *Maddox's Excheq.*

⁴ "*Trilus vicibus mergatur in mari.*" "*A summo navis in mari demergantur more marinariorum.*"

⁵ The champions, who fought, for themselves, or hired by others, in wagers of battle, were obliged to have their hair shorn close round. In the Old Municipal Law of Normandy, it is said of them, "*chascun doit avoir les cheveux rongnez par dessus les oreilles.*"

of a pillow be shaken over him, to put a mark upon him, and then let him be turned ashore at the first land." ⁶ (Chron. Hoveden, p. 666, edit. 1601.)

The king's captain, Alan de Trenchemer, appears to have derived his name from the favourite galley 'Trenche-la-mer, and when awaiting his master's return at Antwerp, in 1194, is recorded to have slept in a ship of Rye.

The use of decks and cabins in the 13th century implies the larger dimensions of the vessels. In 1228 an order was given to construct a cabin (*cameram*), to place the king's goods in (*Rot. Lib.*); and in 1242 the vessel intended for the use of the king and queen was to have proper cabins wainscoted—*cameras decentes et eas lambruscari faciatis* (*Rot. Claus.* 26^o Hen. III). In 1225 two long ships were built at Winchelsea, by Robert de Nerford, for the king, and sent to Dover. There was indeed a dockyard or arsenal at Rye and Shoreham as well as Winchelsea. A duty of 2s. was levied on wine-ships at Winchelsea, in 1244, to support the beacon there (*Rot. Pat.*); and vessels generally had to pay 2d. as "fire-pence" to the Cinque Ports, where beacons were properly kept up. In Rye there were covered slips, and in 1240 the sheriff was ordered to go there, with four men, and report the condition of the stores and the galleys. An order to the sheriff, in 1243, was given for the enlargement of these docks at Rye, so as to admit seven galleys; and in 1253, when the king was expected there, his two small galleys were got ready for him. The royal galleys were, in 1264, ordered to be repaired at Winchelsea, a command, the execution of which the caprices of the retiring ocean would now render impossible. Henry III had a great ship called 'the Queen,' and the order to Vincent de Hastings, in 1232, to deliver it to John Blancbouilly, for him to trade with, at a rent of 50 marcs, is a curious record of turning the royal ships to an unexpected profit. In 1225 a large Portuguese vessel, 'the Cardinal,' had been taken, and the Cinque Ports were ordered to man her with 30 men. (*Rot. Pat.* 10^o.)

The largest ship in the time of Henry III was about 80 tons, and until the reign of Edward II there is no authentic proof

⁶ "Latro autem de furto convictus tondeatur ad modum campionis, et pix bulliens super caput ejus effundatur, et pluma pulvinaris super caput ejus excotiatum ad cognoscendum eum, et in prima terra ad quam naves applicuerint projiciatur."

of more than one mast. Portsmouth seems to have become the usual place of rendezvous for the vessels of the Cinque Ports, owing to its harbour being better adapted for vessels of increased size. In 1282 a galley cost 45^l, and a barge at Winchelsea £80. 9s. 11d. Until the middle of Edward III's time rudders were not in general use.

A peculiar privilege was enjoyed by the Cinque Ports in 1285, limiting their liability for the loss of goods thrown overboard in storms; so that no lien should authorise the seizure of "the ring on the master's finger, his girdle, or his silver drinking-cup, if he had one." (Fœd. 1, 654.)

There appears to have been generally a threefold division of the naval force of the kingdom: from the Thames northward; from the Thames, under the captain of the Cinque Ports, round the south coast, to Bristol; and from thence up to Scotland.

The experienced mariners of the Cinque Ports were fully aware of the advantages of their favourable position in the Channel, and while it ensured them an active commerce, it is certain, from the account of historians, that they were by no means scrupulous of adding to their gains by piracy, and often plundering other vessels as they passed along the coast. Such conduct indeed seems scarcely to have entailed disgrace; old chroniclers apply the term of pirates to the Cinque Ports, as if it were a title of honour. Hoveden (224 b) says of K. William II, "*jam mare munierat suis piratis;*" and Bromton (986), "*Anglici vero piratæ qui curam maris a rege susciperant.*" Of the remonstrances against such license many specimens remain. In a letter to K. Henry III (in Tower MSS., 169), the judges, benchers (scabini, bailiffs), council, and other citizens of Cologne, complain that their beloved fellow-citizen, Hermann, had been plundered of his goods to the value of 100 mares or more, by the citizens of Winchelsea, and pray for redress, concluding with the significant hint that "if no restitution be made to him, we cannot desert him in his right, but are bound to assist him, so that he may be able to recover from your people." Bruges, Ypres, and many other towns on the opposite coast complained and suffered, in like manner, from the Cinque Ports, who indeed seem to have levied black-mail in the Channel, as freely as the

knights of the feudal castles on the German rivers. Regular licenses for private warfare, or, as we should now term them, letters of marque, were sometimes issued in the thirteenth century; and this dangerous permission was easily abused, into indiscriminate piracy. A few instances may be mentioned.

In 1225, nine marcs were given to Alexander the goldsmith and his seven comrades in compensation for what the Cinque Ports had robbed them of; in 1227, the sheriff was ordered to find out the plunderers of an unfortunate ship from Toulouse, which had been wrecked at Shoreham; in 1235, the Cinque Ports were ordered to deliver up some ships of Barfleur, which had been captured in spite of a truce by Hamon le Crevecœur; in 1236, Philip de Albani, a man in authority, had so harassed with his vessels the merchants of Flanders and Hainault, that the king was obliged to interfere, and insist upon satisfaction being given them; in 1242, when a great fleet had assembled at Portsmouth, the king, on June 8th, instructed the Cinque Ports to attack the French on the coast opposite, but forbade them to injure churches or the king's own subjects, a prohibition implying much. The king, however, claimed a fifth of their booty as his due. (Foed. 1, 246.) Indeed this very year the Cinque Ports were ordered to restore foreign ships unjustly seized. At times, however, the French gained the entire command of the sea, as in 1243, on which occasion the Cinque Ports loudly complained that their fishing was stopped, and that the lucrative passage of pilgrims to S. Iago in Spain, and to Canterbury, in itself a serious loss to the shipping interest in those times, was prevented by the enemy. (M. Paris.) The jealous watch kept upon the safe passage of pilgrims was strongly evinced by Richard I, who laid siege to the castle of Chisy on his way through France expressly on account of pilgrims to S. Iago having been there spoiled by its Lord William, whom he captured and hung on "the spot." (Hoveden.) Royal licenses were granted for ships to carry pilgrims to Spain: thus in 1434, Robert Porter of the barge 'La Trinite de Winchelsea' was allowed to carry there sixty pilgrims, provided they took no more gold or silver than was necessary, and he afterwards had a license to carry forty more in 'Le Katernyn de Winchelsea,' in 1456; Simon Farncombe, of 'Le Helene de Winchelsea' was allowed to carry eighty. (Rym.

Fœd.) The curious petition for a similar license from John, Earl of Oxford, in 1339, shows that it was a lucrative privilege; John of Gaunt went there in 1386. (Ellis, Orig. Lett. s. 2, vol. I, p. 110.)

William Morfote, who had in 1428 represented Winchelsea in parliament, found his calling as a privateer with a hundred men under him somewhat interfered with from a legal difficulty, as he had broken prison previously at Dover castle, but in 1435 he remedied this by obtaining pardon from the king by the advice of parliament. (Cooper's Winchelsea, p. 100.)

In 1322, two merchants of Sherborne, co. Dorset, were robbed of their cargo, worth £80, by Robert de Battayle, who, as he became mayor of Winchelsea a few years later, evidently did not forfeit the favour of his fellow-townsmen by the transaction. One of the most daring freebooters in the days of Henry V was Henry Pay, who having fled from Sussex as a murderer in early life, may be considered as belonging to that county; in spite of such an unpromising beginning, he rendered himself an important personage as a privateer. In 1405 he captured twenty-nine French vessels, and made such frequent assaults upon the towns of the Spanish coast, that their chroniclers record "Arripay" as their most vexatious enemy; the king himself rewarded him in 1414 for his zeal.

Not unfrequently were the Cinque Ports found also in opposition to their sovereign, and during the civil wars between Henry III and his barons, they seem to have generally sided with the latter. There is a letter to this king from his brother the king of the Romans, when he was expecting some foreign troops to come over to his aid, in which he advises him, having had in fact some personal experience, in 1258, at Dover, in the matter, first to ascertain whether the Cinque Ports are likely to let them land. Its date is Oct. 23d, 1262, and is among the MSS. of the Tower. (Letters, No. 124.)

"To the illustrious and magnificent prince, the Lord Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, his most dear brother, Richard by the same grace king of the Romans, always August, greeting with affection of intimate love. We consider that above all things we must take care and provide, that before the day, on which those from parts beyond sea are summoned, you should diligently ascertain, if a free entry is open to them, and a safe advance into the kingdom, in which matter indeed we think there ought to be no doubt or anxiety as to any obstacle

occurring to them. We intend, however, in a short time to visit you, in order to offer you such advice upon this, by which your and our safety may be provided for, the Lord helping us, more securely and more wholesomely. Because, if entrance be denied the foreigners by the Cinque Ports, we will by other means contrive a sure and abundant readiness to be exhibited towards them, as to a convenient, safe, and easy ingress. Given at Berkamstede, 23d day of October, indiction 5, in the 5th year of our reign."

After the utter defeat of their party, the Cinque Ports slide back to their allegiance, with most ardent protestations of loyalty; and the letter of the barons of Hastings, on the occasion, is extant, a model of polite letter-writing, but evidently false and insincere—a fact still more strongly proved by the barons of Rye having sent a similar letter to the king, in words identically the same throughout, having employed apparently the same clerk to draw up their official excuses. (Hastings, No. 73, *Inquis. de Rebell.*; Rye, No. 93, *Letters, Tower MSS.*)

"To their most excellent lord, and most dear lord, the most illustrious king of England, his liege and faithful barons of Hastings, greeting, in the Saviour of all, and prompt and ready willingness to obey in all things, even to the division of soul and body, with all subjection, reverence, and honour. We have thought it right to declare, by these letters, to the excellence of your royal majesty, that extreme grief of heart, and anguish beyond measure, have now, for a long time past, affected all and each of us, inasmuch as we have neither been able to approach the bodily presence of your loyal clemency during the delay of your long sojourn in remote parts, nor to direct sure messengers, in order to ascertain the certainty of the good condition of your person, for the sake of both the love and honour of which, we are ready to be crowned with a victorious death, if necessary. Moreover, let your royal excellence take notice that we have, up to this time, guarded your town of Hastings, for your use, and that of your heirs, and at your good pleasure shall guard it for ever, although anything to the contrary may have been suggested to your pious ears, by our enemies against us. To which enemies indeed do not give credence, since they are not to be believed in anything, and although some persons, without the assent of our community, may have offended your royal majesty, we have at no time adopted them, nor their evil deeds, but, even in the presence of your royal majesty, have disavowed and disapproved them and their evil works, and have never ceased to disapprove them. Wherefore we humbly implore the clemency of your royal majesty, insomuch that you may intimate your good pleasure to us, as to your liege and faithful men, concerning all and singular matters which may please your royal majesty. May the excellence of your royal majesty be in health, and flourish to endless time."

In the confusion of the civil war, and particularly after the battle of Evesham, under the revengeful leadership of young

Simon de Montfort, the Cinque Ports, notwithstanding the above professions of loyalty, took license to scour the seas so effectually that no merchant vessel could pass, and, an entire stop being put to trade, the prices of imported articles rose enormously—pepper from 6*d.* to 3*s.* per lb.; wine and wax from 40*s.* to 10 marcs (£6. 13*s.* 4*d.*) It was, in consequence of these unruly proceedings, that Margaret II, the reigning countess of Flanders, addressed, in August 1265, a spirited remonstrance to K. Henry III, on behalf of “her merchants of Bruges and Dam, who, during the civil war within his realm, had been plundered of ships, merchandize and goods at sea, by his men of Winselze, Rye, and others of the Cinque Ports.” She sent over a Cistercian monk, John Bonwelint, to require and receive restitution, to procure which she entreated the king’s effective aid. (Tower MSS., 885.)

The violent contention of the Cinque Ports with Yarmouth proceeded to an excess, which shows how ready they were to attack their own fellow-subjects as well as the foreign enemy. On the annual resort of the fishing vessels of the Cinque Ports to the Norfolk coast, they had long exercised the privilege of landing and drying their nets on the shore, where the town of Yarmouth, mainly from this cause, gradually arose. Continual disputes however occurred in consequence: in 1264 compensation was promised them, for the damages sustained at Yarmouth, and both parties were prevailed on, by royal authority, to live in peace with their neighbours. How reluctantly however the barons of Hastings submitted to a prolongation of such inactivity, for even half a year, is clear in the following letter. (Tower MS. Letters, No. 91.)

“To their most excellent lord Henry, by the grace of God, illustrious king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, count of Anjou, his lieges in all things, the barons of Hastings, greeting, and obedience of due submission. Since it has been determined by your royal council, that the peace (*pax formata*) made between us and the men of Gernemouth should be prolonged from the Nativity of S. John Baptist (*June 24*) to the Nativity of our Lord next following, and that such should be granted by your letters patent in particular, we reverently transmit to your royal excellence these our letters patent, recognising the same provision for keeping the said peace, saving our liberty in all things. May God prolong your life and safety to long and joyful times.”

In spite of such temporary truces, the rancour still went on, until

in 1297 it broke out in one of the most remarkable outrages ever recorded. The royal navy of England was lying in the presence of an enemy under King Edward the First's own leadership in the Flemish harbour of Sluys (now called Helvoet Sluys), when the crews of the Cinque Port vessels, "recalling to mind" (as the chronicler Wykes observes) "that inveterate hate which had for ages endured between them and the sailors of Yarmouth," suddenly made so violent an attack on them, that twenty-five of the Yarmouth ships were burnt and destroyed, and only three escaped, one of which held part of the king's treasure. Two years afterwards, so precarious was the continuance of peace between the parties, that the king gave to some vessels of the Cinque Ports a regular safe-conduct to Yarmouth, as if they were venturing into an enemy's port. This passport was granted to "Benet Leman, master of 'La Blithe,' Rauf le Boef and William de Thamme of the ship 'Dame le Cour,' Beneit Carytee, master of the barge, and Robert Paulyn for Alexander Badding, master of the ship the 'Lyttelnanspie,' " all of Winchelsea. (Rot. Pat. June 10th, 27^o Edw. I.) Nor was this ferocious feud appeased or suppressed even by this struggle; for in 1336, a generation later, the king, Edward III, was obliged formally to prohibit any communication at sea between the rival vessels of Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports, until he should have composed their quarrels.

Let us now trace the vessels of the Cinque Ports to more honorable employment, when fulfilling their appointed duty in aid of their king during the Welch and Scotch wars of Edward I and II, which may be interesting as recording some of their national services on distant expeditions, and as preserving the names of some of the ships and men of Sussex, though such notices must necessarily be very imperfect and discursive.

The stipulated number of fifty-two ships from the Cinque Ports was summoned in 1277, and we find them employed on the coast of North Wales, where a few years later, in 1282, eighteen of their ships occupied the Menai straits, and may claim the honour of being the early forerunners of modern marvels in that locality, by actually bridging over the passage with a line of boats. This however an impetuous assault of the Welch put an end to, and the English fled in confusion. (Knighton, 2464.) On one occasion, in 1293, the Cinque

Ports carried on a little war on their own account, springing out of a sanguinary riot among some of their sailors in a port of Normandy. Their ships in revenge sailed up the Seine, as if challenging their opponents to a duel; and, accordingly, on April 14th, in a storm of hail and snow, a regular combat ensued in the open sea, in which the Cinque Ports triumphed.

“The five ports thorgh powere the se had so conquered,
That Normans alle that yere dorst not be sene for ferd.”

Peter Langtoft.

Two years later, they captured fifteen Spanish ships on their voyage to Damme, and brought them into the Thames. Thirty-three ships were ordered up to Berwick, some of which assisted, though unsuccessfully, in the attack on that town, then held by the Scotch. In June 1299, the Cinque Ports were required to send thirty ships to be ready near Carlisle.

Gervase Alard, a native of Winchelsea, was a conspicuous mariner of these times; he is first mentioned in 1293, and was made admiral of the Cinque Ports in 1300, receiving the same pay as a knight, 2s. a day; he was the leader of the expedition in 1306 to Skimburness near Carlisle, to assist in the Scotch war, but he must then have been a veteran, “beated and chopped with tann’d antiquity;” for in the previous year he had described himself in a petition to the king as “now much in age, and having spent the most part of his substance for the king,” from whose treasurer he had never received more than £4 and a horse worth 4 marcs (£2. 13s. 4d.), on which account he begs for the restitution of some land at Pevensy, which he had bought, but had been unjustly deprived of by Peter de Savoy. (Nicolas’s Hist.)

The Cinque Port fleet assembled by the king’s orders at Dublin, in August, 1310, and were put under the command of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster (Fœd. 2, 108). Edward the Second publicly thanked the crews as well as their commander, afterwards, for their services against the Scots, desiring them to be victualled in Ireland for the winter. On a repetition of the royal order, in 1314, to the Cinque Ports to seize “the greater and better ships” and take them to Dublin, four large ships were impressed at Shoreham and Seaford for the purpose, and despatched under William de

Creye and John de Argyle "with God's helpe to repress the obstinate malice and rancour of our Scotch enemies."

A full account of the vessels of the Cinque Ports which were summoned in 1294 to convey troops to Gascony is extant, giving the names of the ships and of the masters;⁷ by this it appears that Winchelsea then supplied 13; Sandwich, 12; Rye, 7; Dover, 7; Romney, 5; Hythe, 3; and Hastings, 3.

At the time of Edward the First's expedition to Scotland in 1301 there is the following entry of a payment in the accounts of the wardrobe. (EB. 2052, Carlton Ride, Receipt. et exit. Gard. Reg., 29^o Edw. I.)

"To Simon de Waynset, master of 'La Ffaucon' of Winchelse, advanced upon the wages of himself and his fellow-sailors of the same ship six mares."

£4. was a considerable sum in those days, denoting the length of the voyage on which 'La Ffaucon' was employed. In another MS. entry of payment to John Prest, master of the 'Cog Petre' of Winchelsea, and his crew, 'the botswein' receives 3*d.* a week, while the master has 12*d.* and each sailor 6*d.* During the continuance of the Scotch war under Edward II, Sussex was frequently called upon to assist, and in the account of the gifts for that purpose we find the abbot of Battel, in 1310, thus contributing (Fragments MS. C. Ride, 4^o Edw. II), at a time when Robert Bruce had taken Edinburgh, and was invading England itself.

"From the abbot of Battel, by gift, thereby to purchase victuals for the war of Scotland, by the hands of Sir Richard of Battel, his clerk, paying cash in the wardrobe, on the 6th day of August, 100 mares (£66. 13*s.* 4*d.*)

"From the same, by gift made to the king in aid of carriage for the war of Scotland, &c., ten mares (£6. 13*s.* 4*d.*)"

As ecclesiastics were forbidden any concern in matters of bloodshed, probably the abbot's conscience was better satisfied by his money being only applied to food and carriage, and not to purposes more directly military.

The urgency of the Scotch war increased in the year 1314-15, when Robert Bruce sent his brother Edward to invade Ireland, and subsequently followed him, landing at Carrickfergus with his own army. The parliament, meeting at London at Michaelmas, ordered every town in England to raise a certain number of troops, and in the transport of these

⁷ Cooper's Winchelsea, p. 55.

forces to Ireland, the Cinque Ports were employed. There had been indeed a general press of ships in all ports of England and Ireland; while Drogheda and Yoghul each contributed two, Bristol sent four, Chester three, Furness four, and Liverpool only one.

A great many of these ships had religious names, as 'St. Marie,' 'St. Giles,' 'St. Edward,' and 'St. Thomas of Winchelsea,' 'La Madelaine,' 'Le James,' 'Le Nicolas,' the especial saint of mariners, 'Le Godale,' 'La Nawecroix' (or ship of the cross), 'La Nawedieu' (or ship of God), while others bore more familiar names, such as 'La Garlande,' 'La Joie,' 'La Plente,' 'Le Welyfare,' 'La Blythe,' 'Le Godyere,' 'La Rose of Rye,' 'Le Blakebot,' &c. At other times (H. 5) we find Galopine, Alarde, Paterik, Percevent.

The Scots under Edward Bruce had taken Carrickfergus, and its recovery must have been a main object of the English expedition. The account as respects the Cinque Ports runs thus (MSS. Fragments C. Ride.)

"Account for the wages paid to the mariners of the Cinque Ports at Dublin and Crakfergus.

WINCHELSE.—To Gervase Toneman, master of the ship which is called 'Cog Edward,' two constables (constabulariis), and his fifty-seven fellow-sailors of the said ship, for their wages for fifteen days, £11. 16s. 3d., that is to say, the master taking 6d. a day, and to each of the constables 6d. a day, and to each sailor 3d. a day sum, £11. 16s. 3d.

To Reginald Payn, master of the ship called 'Sante Marie Cog,' (sic), &c. &c., for the same number of men at the same wages £11. 16s. 3d.

RYE.—To Hamon Robert (the MS is torn, so that the name of the ship and number of crew are lost) sum, £10. 17s. 6d.

To Robert Michel (MS. again torn), and 47 sailors sum, £9.

HASTENG.—To Robert Ffeter (MS. torn), and 34 sailors sum, £7. 2s. 6d.

To Robert Thomas, master of the ship called 'St. Marie,' 2 constables and their 45 fellows, sailors, &c. &c. £9. 11s. 3d.

ROMENEYE.—To John Spite, master of the ship 'Saint George,' 2 constables and 50 sailors, &c. &c. £10. 10s.

To Hamon Tenylond, master of the ship called 'La Margarete,' constable and 36 sailors, &c. &c. £7. 10s.

SANDEWICH.—Supplied 4 vessels, Hethe 2, and Dover 9.

HAMPTON, (Southampton?)—To John Goderiche, master of the ship called 'Le Scede,' 1 constable and 18 sailors £4. 2s. 6d.

To John Gobard, master of the ship called 'La Blythe,' 1 constable and 19 sailors £4. 6s. 3d.

SHORHAM.—To John Drake, master of the ship ‘Alysseta,’ (Elizabeth?)
 1 constable and 34 sailors £7. 2s. 6d.
 To William Athelard, admiral of the fleet of the Cinque Ports (admirallo
 flote Quinque Portuum), for his good assistance in hiring the ships of the
 Ports and others 100s.
 To William Godyng, for the same 40s.”

These Sussex sailors did their duty, and helped the king in Ireland, yet the Scotch invaders were repelled from their conquest not so much by force (though in fact they were defeated at Dundalk and Edward Bruce slain) as by a famine, so severe as even to compel them to devour their own companions.

In the following year, 1319-20, the sheriff of Sussex supplied much corn for the royal army in Scotland, sending it to Newcastle.

From the same sheriff's bailiwick, the archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Reynold, who was then also chancellor, lent to the king for the same war, and sent to Newcastle by the “‘Sainte Marie,’ messenger de Shorham,” 150 quarters of wheat, 15 qu^{rs} of beans, 5 qu^{rs} of peas, 200 qu^{rs} of oats, and 300 qu^{rs} of ground wheat.

There were numerous cargoes sent from Sussex for the army, in quantities of 315 qu., 330 qu., 346 qu. of wheat, besides beans and peas, which arrived safe, but there is a special entry of 21 qu. of wheat, sent in the ship ‘William,’ having been found entirely putrefied on account of the weather, probably the heat as it occurred in July, and the long delay at sea in coming towards Newcastle. (Omnino putrefacta per tempestatem et longam moram in mari veniendo versus N. C.)

The supply of horse-shoes and nails from Sussex, for the Scotch wars, has been already proved in the comprehensive ‘History of the Sussex Ironworks,’ by our member, Mr. M. A. Lower, in a previous volume (*Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II, p. 178). It may, however, be interesting to add that, in the 14th century, Spanish iron was largely used for the anchors of the English navy. In 1336^o there was a payment of £6. 6s. 6d. “for 1,100 lbs. of iron, from Spain, to make a great anchor, price per cwt., with the manufacture, 11s. ;” another for 901 quarters ; another of 800 ; two of 500 each ; another of 400 : all for making anchors, amounting to 4203 quarters, costing £23. 10s. 6d. (Issue Roll., W. N., 579.)

In the 14th century the French made numerous descents

upon the Sussex coast, and the damage and disgrace inflicted by them upon Rye, Winchelsea, and Hastings, were insufficiently redeemed by the glory of two great naval victories, won by Edward III, in person. The king's succinct and simple dispatch, reporting the one at Sluys on June 24th, 1340, is still extant, written from his ship 'Cog Thomas,' a vessel from 200 to 250 tons; in the same ship also was his second triumph won, on August 29th, 1350, off Winchelsea, over the Spaniards, after the obstinate fight referred to in history, as "*les Espagnols sur mer*," so admirably described by Froissart.

On these brilliant exploits, which belong to the national history, it is not the place here to dwell, but some details of the king's preparations for this naval expedition in 1350, may be mentioned, and it is interesting to fill up the broader outlines of history, by following the gallant monarch into his cabin, and on the deck of his 'Cog Thomas.'

On the 20th of March he had summoned all his men at arms, his hobelars, bowmen, and sailors, to assemble at Sandwich, within fifteen days from the feast of the Trinity; and, on May 1st, had appointed "William Passelewe and Master Robert Shipman the constable of the ship called 'La Cog Thomas,'" jointly to pick out 100 of the best sailors, from Kent or Sussèx, to man his 'Cog Thomas.' The earl of Huntingdon was instructed, on July 22d, to organise the guard on the South coast, "because pirates and other enemies collected in great number on the sea and in harbours, from foreign parts, threaten to invade the kingdom." As the time for the expedition drew nearer, on August 10th, the Archbishop of Canterbury was requested to cause prayers for the king's success against "the Spaniards, who had plundered many ships laden with wine, wool," &c., and "cruelly killed many persons," to be universally offered up to "God, who in his mercy has lately snatched us and our army from so many and such great dangers."

The remark of Froissart is contrary to modern experience, when he says that—

"Combats at sea are more destructive and obstinate than upon land, for it is not possible to retreat or flee; every one must abide his own fortune, and exert his prowess and valour."

It is certain, however, that a desperate struggle took place on this occasion, and its progress was watched by the queen and her court from the coast of Sussex with intense anxiety. Edward appears to have gone first to Sandwich, dating from thence various writs of Privy Seal, from August 16th to 26th (Tower MSS.), before going to Winchelsea, from which place documents are dated on August 28th, Sept. 1st and 3d.

Besides his own vessel, there belonged to his fleet the 'Sainte Marie,' 'La Jerusalem,' 'La Edward' (with a crew of 80 men, under W. Piers), 'La Edmund,' 'La Plente' (with 60 men, under John Wille), 'La Isabelle' (with 40 men, under John Ram), 'La Gabriel' (with 50 men, under John Rokke), 'La Michel' (with 30 men, under John Maikyn), 'La Welifare' (with 30 men, under John Stygey), and 'La Jonette' (with 80 men, under Walter Langdale), 'La Faucon,' 'La Mapole,' and the 'Cog Thomas Beauchamp,' each decorated with a standard and appropriate tin images on their long streamers, while four standards made of Worstede (the Norfolk factory had already given its name to the stuff) displayed the royal leopards and lilies in colours. The round castles at the top of the masts at this period are represented in drawings as holding two to five men, provided with stones to throw down upon the enemy. (See Illumin. Illustr. of Froissart, from MS. of Paris, pl. 44, published by H. N. Humphreys, 1844.) The image (*imago de stanno*) of the guardian Saint Thomas, was expressly bought at the price of 8s., to be sent for the streamer of his own 'Cog,' and having thus duly provided for his nautical and spiritual wants, the monarch did not neglect to attend to his own bodily comfort. His court tailor, John Marreys, was ordered to put in repair two swords with their scabbards, and their belts with plated brass, an haubergeon, and other articles of dress "for the journey of the king to Winchelsea" at an expense of 43s. 4d., four folding seats at 4s.; and it is pleasant to observe that he determined to sleep "with all appliances and means to boot" even "in cradle of the rude imperious surge," for we have his bed minutely accounted for.

"3 blanketts (*sic*) made for the king's bed 12s. 2d.; 4 nightcaps and 4 pillow-cases of fine linen (4 *covrechiefs* et 4 *auricularia facta de tela de Reyne*); 8 fote cloths (*sic*) of fine linen for the king's bed; 2 mattresses (*mattraciorum de sindon*) of linen of diverse colors, costing 15s. 9d.; and a bed of feathers,

called ffethirbedd (*uno lecto de pluma vocato ffethirbedd*) made for the Lord King, and placed in the ship called 'La Cogg Thomas,' 20s." (Carlt. Ride MSS. W. N. 1215 W.)

The long Michaelmas bill of his tailor, John Marreys, still extant (24^o Ed. III, G. H. 510, *Empciones draperie, &c.*), proves what a variety of dresses the king, now thirty-eight years old, had this year, and among other articles is mentioned his embroidered garter with the king's device "*Mony soit que male y pense*;" but Froissart tells us that on this occasion, when he embarked in the 'Cog Thomas,' "he was dressed in a black velvet jacket, and wore on his head a small beaver hat, which became him much." He had provided in London silken banners for the trumpets and clarions of his minstrels; and in his joyous anticipation of the fight, he made them now play on board a new German dance, recently introduced by Sir John Chandos, and which that veteran, who had shared the previous triumph at Sluys, now merrily accompanied with his voice, until the watch at the mast-head announced the Spaniards to be in sight. A more chivalrous portrait was never drawn than that by Froissart, who "was told by those who were present," of this stout warrior's behaviour throughout this eventful day. As many editions of Froissart do not contain the passage, it may be allowable to introduce it here, from that published by M. Buchon, liv. 1, partie 2, chap. 3, p. 285 :—

"Si se tenoit le roi d'Angleterre au chef de sa nef, vetu d'un noir jake de velvel, et portoit sur son chef un noir chapelet de bievre, qui moult bien lui seoit, et estoit adonc, selon ce qui dit me fut par ceux qui avec lui estoient pour ce jour, aussi joyeux que on ne le vit oncques. Et faisoit ses menestrals corner devant lui une danse d'Allemagne, que Messire Jean Chandos, qui là estoit, avoit nouvellement rapportée, et encore par ebatement il faisoit le dit chevalier chanter avec ses menestrels, et y prenoit grand plaisance, et a la fois regardoit en haut, car il avoit mis une quette au chateau de sa nef pour noncer, quand les Espagnols viendroient—se fit le roi sonner les trompettes—se fit apporter le vin, et but et tous ses chevaliers et puis mit le bassinet en la tête."

We can well believe that, after the fatigues and perils of this memorable day (August 29) were over, he returned to Winchelsea in a not less jovial mood. Landing immediately, he rode off at once to rejoin the queen, at "le Manoir," two leagues off, which is reasonably supposed to have been the

residence of the knightly family of Echynghams, at Echyngham.⁸ After rewarding his followers there, it is agreeable to trace the continuance of this genial humour two days later, when he was at Winchelsea and Rye. It was indeed no fit time for punishment, but the royal bounty flowed in a channel which leads to curious inferences as to the moral character of his victorious comrades, and gives us an insight into the terms on which some of them encountered "*les Espagnols sur mer*," fighting in a double sense for their lives. On September 1st, from Winchelsea and Rye, were dated writs of Privy Seal, directed to the chancellor, John Thursby, bishop of Worcester, exempting numerous murderers from all processes of law against them; and two of these are stated to have been at the request of "his dear and faithful earl of Huntingdon," William de Clinton (the only one of his name who bore the title) who had shared in the naval glories at Sluys, and was admiral and warden of the Cinque Ports. Pardon was thus granted, "by special favour, to John Calfherd, for the death of John Bullok of Drax, the miller," and "Walter, son of Simon Petit of Craule, for the death of Mathew Plevyn." "His very dear cousin, the earl of Lancaster,"⁹ also obtained the king's pardon, on the same day, at Rye, for "Aleyn Wolricch, of Croft, for the death of Symon Herre, of Braytoft," and for "George Selyman, for all sorts of trespasses, confederations, conspiracies, robberies, and other felonies whatsoever, releasing him from any outlawry, if any has been pronounced against him for such causes." Similar writs were issued, pardoning "Thomas Maister, of Ipswich, for the death of Robert Pakker;" "John Balle, of Chorlton Kynges, for the death of John de Shirwode;" and "for the good service that Thomas de Apeldrefeld has done and will do hereafter," he is pardoned all manner of felonies. One of the king's gallant comrades, however, Robert de Marny, having no crimes to atone for, obtained, at Rye, on the same day, some civil privileges, in reward of—

"His god service, that he should not be put upon any assizes, juries, recognizance, or inquisitions whatsoever, and that he should neither be made

⁸ See Cooper's Winchelsea.

⁹ Earl Thomas descended from Edmund, son of Henry III, was, in the following year, created duke of Lancaster, a title which, after his death, was given to John of Gaunt, the husband of his only child Blanche.

mayor, viscount (*sheriff*), escheator, coroner, taxer, collector, apparitor, or assessor by commission, or any other minister or bailiff, by the king or his heirs, against his will (*contre sa volonté*).” (Tower MSS., Writs of Privy Seal, 24^o Edw. III.)

Even on Nov. 2, the king continued to evince his gratitude for “the good service” done in this sea-fight, and on that account pardoned Thomas Banastre, for the death of Robert Blackburn. (Fœd. 3, 207.)

In 1347 the Sussex Cinque Ports contributed ships in these proportions: Winchelsea, 21 ships and 596 mariners; Hastings, 5 ships and 96 mariners; Rye, 9 ships and 156 mariners; Seaford, 5 ships and 80 mariners; and Shoreham, 20 ships and 329 mariners. (Harl. MS. 782.)

The gallant repulse of the French at Winchelsea by the abbot of Battel in 1360 is well known, but the greatest alarm then prevailed, and Pevensey was ordered to be put into a state of defence (Fœd. 471-9), though the Cinque Ports captured thirteen French ships laden with wine. Even the parliament took notice of the decay of the English navy in 1371, and not without reason, for, in June the following year, the great fleet summoned from the Cinque Ports and elsewhere, under the earl of Pembroke, was defeated at La Rochelle, and the earl taken prisoner. The hanging of some Rye townsmen in 1377 for their lukewarmness in defence (Rot. Parl. 3, 70) did not restore the character of English courage, nor could even the spirited abbot of Battel, Hamo de Offington, though he fought off the French at Winchelsea, “from noon to vespers,” prevent the repetition of similar attacks. If the admirable ‘Chronicle of Battel Abbey’ (lately published by our member, Mr. M. A. Lower) had been continued to this date in the same vivid style of portraiture, with which that earlier record has depicted the men and manners of its period, we might have found that the gallant abbot could wield the pen as skilfully as the sword. Some pious chroniclers account for this arm of the national strength being weakened by the sins and immorality of the combatants (Walsingh. p. 210), but we have no reason to suppose the successful French were much more virtuous. Mutual attacks on the coasts went on, and occasionally the English brought back the spoils of Normandy, as they did in 1405, to Camber, near Winchelsea, now deserted by the sea. It was reserved for the heroism of

Henry V to restore the glory of English prowess, and while he was preparing for Agincourt, he put every resource into requisition; not only did he summon out all the naval forces of the Cinque Ports, but hired ships from Holland, and laid a general embargo on all vessels within reach. Winchelsea was one of the ports of rendezvous, and when 1500 ships had been collected, the king embarked at Southampton, on August 10th, 1415, on board his ship the 'Trinity Royal,' and ordering her principal sail to be hoisted and unfurled, as a signal for departure, disanchored¹⁰ to commence his glorious expedition. The vessels built by the king at that period, though larger than those supplied by the Cinque Ports, and others, probably did not exceed 500 tons and required sixty-two sailors for each.

"When at Hampton he made the great 'Dromon'
Which passed other great ships of all the Commons.
The 'Trinitie,' 'Grace de Dieu,' the 'Holy Ghost,'
And other moe which as now be lost."

(P. 23, App. Nicolas' 'Aginc.')

Besides 'Dromons,' a name implying speed, the ancient vessels were called, 'Grand Niefs,' 'Barges,' 'Busses,' 'Carrackes'; 'Vissers' appear to have been flat-bottomed for the transport of horses, and 'Ballingers' seem to have been adapted for a light draft of water. We learn too the prices of some articles at the time of the repair of the king's 'Cog Thomas,' in 1347, at Winchelsea; a tiller cost 4s.; an oar, 8*d.*; a capstan, 3s.; and it is interesting to remark the use of the loadstone and the early substitutes for chronometers. In 1345 there were supplied for the king's ship 'George,' together with wine, bread, and salt-fish, "12 glass horeloges bought in Flanders 9s.; 12 sailing stones called adamants 6s. (Sir II. Nic. Hist. 2, 180.) In the time of Henry V, the records speak of "one dyoll and one seyling needle," "1 dyoll, 1 compasse, and 1 boxe."

From the numerous MSS. indentures relating to the repairs and supplies of the royal ships, a full account might be gathered of the items used in ship-building during the 14th century, and it is remarkable that the original documents,

¹⁰ 'Disanchored' is an excellent word used by all the old chroniclers, French and English, and recommended for revival by Sir Harris Nicolas.

though drawn up carefully either in Latin or French, usually leave the names of several articles in plain English, as if the technical terms of sailors were hopelessly untranslatable. Nicolas Pyk seems to have been the principal ship-builder of his day in the Thames, and his beautifully cut seals (one a pyke hauriant; another, a merchant's mark, surmounted by a streamer on a pole, within an octagon) remain appended to the parchments, which testify to his delivery of various articles to the ships. Thus in 1349, were delivered to—

“Adam Cog, master of ‘La Plente,’ 2 *trusseropes*, 1 *hauser*, 2 *bouropes*, a new grate and kitchen, (un nouveau fuer, 1 cuisine) 2 lanthorns, 2 quintals of resin, 1 *soundynghline*, 1 *soundynled*, 1 *sailingpiere*, 1 *rece of pakthred*—a streamer with the old arms (des armes vieilles) of England—a brass pot, 2 large boilers (caudrons nobles), 2 *waterfitches*. (Carlt. R. MSS. J. P. R. H. 7433.)

One of these indentures relating to the king's ship ‘Le Robynet’ delivered in 1399 at Winchelsea to the master, William Pieres, may be given as a specimen of such an inventory.

“Sachent tous ceux que cestes verront ou apprendront, moi William Pieres, mestre de la nief Nuestre Seignor le Roi nomée ‘Le Robynet,’ avoir recieu de Nichol Pyk de Londres les choses sous escrites pour necessaires au dite nief en un voiage vers Normandie, c'est à savoir, 1 steye de demi cents, et xv teldes pour la dite nief, et vi geneues pour la bate du dite nief; en tesmoignance de quele chose as cestes mes letres ai mis mon seal; escrite à Wynchelsee le xxii^{de} jour de Septembre, l'an du regne notre dit Seignor d'Angleterre tresisme.”

On the seal is an eagle. The ‘Robynet’ was the next year again at Winchelsea, under the care of John de Baddeby, to whom Nicholas Pyk paid £11. for his expenses.

The details of the repairs done to Henry V's ships in 1409-10, as paid for by John Elmeton, clerk of the navy, (clerici navium regis), exhibit to us the barge “Godegrace in le dokke,” ‘La Trinite de la Toure,’ ‘La Holygost,’ ‘La Katrine,’ and other vessels under repair, “the carpenters called *shipwrithes* receiving 6d. a day;” charges are made for *tarrynge*, *spykyng*, *rosenyng*, and for supplying *handeropes*, *towe*, *rayles for the hyndercastell*, *waynscote*, *sheytes*, *kippehokes*, *bakstayes*, *pompe*, *bowesprit*, *mapoles*, *spurnewater*, *knowes*, *kelsyng*, *thowtes*, *hecchyng*, *hauser*, *bowlynes*, and the expenses of moving the vessels from the Thames “usque le dokke,” and back again to the river. (Carlt. Ride MS. BB. WN. 1451.)

THE CASTLE OF HERSTMONCEUX AND ITS LORDS.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE substance of the following Memoir was read at the annual meeting of the Sussex Archæological Society, held at Herstmonceux, July 25th, 1850. It was considered that no subject could so legitimately occupy the attention of the members on that occasion as the history of the noble Castle which had been the cause of their assembling, and on which, until Herstmonceux had attained its present literary celebrity, its title to fame had exclusively rested. With the history of the Castle that of the Manor was inseparably connected, a subject that could not be properly treated without entering at considerable length into the records of the various illustrious families which have, at different times, been seated at Herstmonceux. These family records, though I fear dry and tedious to the ordinary reader, are of great value to the historian, from the light they shed on some of the most interesting epochs in the annals of our country; and any memoir of Herstmonceux would have been so incomplete without them, that I feel it quite needless to offer any apology for having entered at such length, and with so much minuteness, into these details. The field of my investigations, it is true, is not a new one; several accounts of Herstmonceux Castle and its lords, more or less imperfect, already exist; but those who have hitherto treated this subject have been too ready to copy from some previous writer, instead of consulting the original sources of information for themselves, so that the same errors have been perpetuated and the same misstatements repeated, and little if any addition made to the facts recorded by Camden or Grose. In the following pages, it is hoped,

that some of these errors have been avoided or corrected, and that as no pains has been spared in examining every known source of information, the result will be satisfactory to the Society, at whose expense this further attempt to illustrate the history of the Castle and Manor of Herstmonceux has been published.

Had any additional stimulus to diligent investigation been needed, it would have been furnished by the consciousness that in undertaking to become the historian of Herstmonceux Castle, I was occupying ground already opened by men of the first antiquarian and literary eminence, in whose hands the completion of the task might have been left with far greater advantage, had their other more important avocations permitted them to spare the time required. Our valued member (that noble veteran in the cause of archæology, who fought its battles and won its victories, before some of us were born), John Britton, Esq., F.S.A., &c., had drawn up a paper, illustrative of the 'History and Architectural Character of Herstmonceux Castle,' for the Lewes meeting of our Society in 1848; and I am sure I am only expressing the general feeling of the members present on that occasion, in saying that it was felt to be a disappointment of no ordinary kind, when it was found that, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, he declined favouring them with the memoir to which many had been anxiously looking forward, fearing to overtax the attention of the meeting, which had been long on the stretch. This paper, with the generosity which has characterised all Mr. Britton's exertions in the cause of archæology, he at once put into my hand when he learnt that I was engaged upon the history of the Castle, favouring me with his advice and warm encouragement, and granting me the kind permission to profit, to the fullest extent, by his labours in this field. Well would it be for archæology, if all who devote themselves to its pursuit were equally free from those petty jealousies which have done so much to retard its progress, and to hinder the accomplishment of its objects.

Nor is it to the researches of Mr. Britton alone that the following pages are principally indebted for what they may contain of value and interest; my thanks are equally due to

Archdeacon Hare, for his liberality in allowing me the use of his MS. Collections for the History of Herstmonceux Castle, and of the invaluable series of drawings executed by the late Mrs. Hare Naylor, illustrative of almost every part of the building before its demolition in 1777. The most interesting of these I have caused to be engraved for the present memoir, of which they will form to many the most attractive feature. It is much to be wished that Archdeacon Hare could have fulfilled his original intention of writing the history of the Castle and the Parish with which his name is so intimately connected; but his labours in other fields, of far wider interest and more lasting importance, have prevented the accomplishment of this design; and it is to be feared that this work will still remain on the list of literary desiderata. A considerable portion of the materials collected by him have been worked up into the following memoir, in which I have sought to distinguish those parts in which I have been most largely indebted to his able pen.

I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging the obligations under which I am for much valuable assistance, to the kindness of fellow archæologists. Mr. Blaauw has aided me with his advice, and readily allowed me to consult him on any point of difficulty: to Mr. Lower and to Mr. Figg I am indebted for much valuable information, which their intimate acquaintance with the antiquities of Sussex so well qualifies them to give. This too is the place for the grateful mention of the liberality of Mr. Petit, who, with his accustomed generosity, has presented our Society with several woodcuts, executed by Mr. Delamotte, illustrative of the Church and Castle.

Herstmonceux, March 18, 1851.

MANORIAL HISTORY.

THE parish of Herstmonceux is a district of 4535 acres, in the south-eastern part of the county of Sussex, about four miles from the sea-coast. It is locally situated in the rape of Hastings, and the hundred of Foxearl, and ecclesiastically, in the diocese of Chichester, the archdeaconry of Lewes, and deanery of Dallington.

“The first syllable of the name Herstmonceux, as it is spelt by the natives,” writes Archdeacon Hare, “is the same word which occurs at the termination of so many names of places, as Penshurst, Lyndhurst, Sandhurst, Midhurst, Wadhurst, Ticehurst, &c.; and which is also found at the beginning of several names, as Hurstbourn, Hurstpierpoint, Hurstcourtney. It is a Saxon word, denoting a thick wood, or forest, and has run the changes through all the vowels in the alphabet. Sometimes it is written with an *i* or a *y*; and it is evident that the first syllable in the names of the adjoining places, Horsebridge, Horseye, Horselunges, is merely a corruption of the same word: for Herstmonceux itself is in like manner pronounced Horsemounces by the common people. On the other hand, Harz, the German name for mountains covered with wood, is evidently another form of the same word. In most of our English names it is generally spelt with a *u*; but in local custom, which in proper names should be decisive, has determined in favour of *e*. The name is written Herst in ‘Domesday Book,’ and in almost all the earlier records; and this orthography may be supported by the authority of the *Hercynia Silva*, the Roman name for the Harz.”

The reason of this name will be immediately perceived, when it is remembered that we are now standing at the outskirts of the Silva Anderida, the *Coit Andred* of the Britons, the *Andredesleige*, or *Andredeswald*, of the Saxons, that immense forest which, commencing near Lyme, in Kent, and extending, as the venerable Anglo-Saxon Chronicle¹ informs us, 120 miles in length from that point, with an average breadth of at least 30 miles, occupied great part of Kent and Surrey, and the whole of Sussex, with the exception of the

¹ Ang. Sax. Chron. Ingram, p. 114.

downs and the maritime levels, and stretched quite into Hampshire. Of this enormous woodland district but few scattered remnants now exist, though its memory is still kept up, as well by the name *Weald* applied to the whole district, and the prevalence of the word *Hurst* in the local names, as by the *Forests* which are still to be found within its ancient limits—as Ashdown Forest, Dallington Forest, Darvil Forest, &c., though even in these the decay or removal of the timber is fast rendering the appellation less and less appropriate.

Of the condition of Herstmonceux in the times previous to the Norman invasion we know nothing, with the exception of the fact recorded in Domesday, that in the time of Edward the Confessor the manor was in the possession of a priest of the name of Edmer, who was not bound by feudal service to any particular lord, but could change his residence, and transfer his lands at pleasure. Dugdale mentions the manor of Herst among the enormous possessions of Earl Godwin, in Sussex, but it does not seem quite clear whether this was Herstmonceux or Hurstpierrepont.

When the invaluable survey of the Conqueror, popularly known as 'Domesday Book,' was compiled, we find Herst in the possession of William son of Robert, earl of Eu,² being one of 108 manors which, together with the Castlery of Hastings (of which Herstmonceux was long accounted a member), had been bestowed upon his father by his royal relative as a recompense for his eminent services both in the council chamber and in the field. It was held of him by one Wibert, who was also tenant of considerable lands in Warbleton, Hoo, and other adjacent parishes. The manor was rated at five hides, and contained ten ploughlands of arable. In the demesne, or portion of the manor used by the lord himself, three ploughs were employed; while on the rest of the manor thirty villeins with twelve cottagers employed sixteen ploughs. In the woods there was pannage for two hogs. It is interesting and important to remark that the

² "Wibertus tenet de Comite (de Ow) HERSTE. Edmer presbyter tenuit tempore Regis Edwardi et cum terra potuit ire quo voluit. Et tunc et modo se defendit pro v hidis. Terra est xii carucata. In dominio sunt iij carucata, et xxx villani cum xij cotariis habent xvi carucas. Ibi ecclesia et vij acra prati et silva ij porcorum. Tempore Regis Edwardi valebat vj lib. et post xx solid. Modo x lib. (Domesday I, 18.)

immediate consequence of the Norman invasion, attributable doubtless to the disturbed state of the kingdom, and the feeling of insecurity generally prevailing, was a depreciation in the value of landed property; though after the lapse of a few years, when the country had recovered from the shock of the conquest, and the new lords had learnt how to manage their recently acquired estates, it rose again in value, and often surpassed its former estimate. Herstmonceux was no exception to this rule; in the time of Edward the Confessor (to quote the same time-honoured document) it was valued at six pounds, but afterwards fell to twenty shillings, again rising in value, until at the time of the taking of the survey it was rated at ten pounds.

After the Domesday record, a long time, as usual, elapses, without any notice of the manor or its possessors. But there seems no reason to question the truth of Camdens statement, that "soon after the Norman invasion it became the seat of a noble family, called from it *de Herst*." Of these the earliest on record is Idonea de Herst, probably the widow of one of the owners of the manor, who, by a deed, of which the original is, I believe, still extant among Mr. Astles MSS. in the Stowe Collection, now at Ashburnham Place, bestowed on the monks of Robertsbridge,³ "all her land at Prumhel⁴ together with the villains, rents, and appurtenances, to hold of her and her heirs in frankalmoigne, on the payment of sixpence a year, as an acquittance for every service." In return for which generous gift the monks allowed her "the common benefit of their house, and the right of participating in the goods of their house for ever," besides bestowing on her one mark in silver, and on her son Robert a talent of gold. If this Robert were Idonea's eldest son, he must have died before his mother, as we find in the same collection a deed of confirmation of his mother's gift, granted by her son Waleran de Herst. Neither of these documents bears dates, but we may place them between 1176, when Robertsbridge Abbey

³ Burrell Collection. (MSS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5679, 699.)

⁴ Bromehill in Romney Marsh. "Once a pretty town, drowned by the sea in King Edward the First's reign." The church stood in Sussex, but the greater part of the parish was in Kent. "Some footsteps of the church and houses" were visible in 1637, but no ruins exist at present. (Camden Brit. p. 211.)

was founded, and 1199, when the name of Waleran de Herst appears on the Rot. Cur. Regis.⁵

This Waleran de Herst was the first to adopt the surname which has, since his day, formed the latter half of the name of the manor held by him and his lineal descendants till the commencement of the eighteenth century. Whence he derived the name Monceux is uncertain, and though I can confidently say that most of the statements which have been hazarded on this point are incorrect, I am unable to supply the true solution of the difficulty. The Monceux were a Norman family, deriving their name from a place in the parish of Gueron, in the diocese of Bayeux, and are stated by some authorities to have come over with the Conqueror. The first of the name I find is Drogo, or Drew de Monceux, who appears on the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I (1131), and also as a witness to a charter of foundation of Dunstable Priory,⁶ granted by the same monarch. His wife was Edith, daughter of William de Warren and Gundrada (names dear to every Sussex Archæologist), whose first husband was Gerard de Gournay, who, in the disputes consequent on the Conqueror's death, took part with Rufus against his elder brother Robert, but, from some cause or other, soon transferring his allegiance, with his wife accompanied Robert on his journey to the Holy Land: dying by the way he left Edith a widow in a strange land, and she then became the wife of Drew de Monceux.⁷

Ingelram de Monceux is the next of the family whose name occurs; he is mentioned in the Norman Roll⁸ as having, in 1183, given to the king, Henry II, the sum of £26. 5s., "that his judgment might be speeded." This mode of forwarding a suit, however strange it may appear to us, was, at that time, the ordinary mode of proceeding in legal causes; corruption being so universal, even on the throne, that bribery became a necessity to those who would secure the rightful possession of their own. The next document in which the name of Ingelram de Monceux occurs supplies further evidence

⁵ Members of the same family occur among the benefactors of Battel Abbey. Robert de Herst gave one acre in Sedlescombe; and William, son of Manser de Herst, a messuage, with other houses, "juxta aquam de Stonesbath." (Reg. de Bello, 1, 231.)

⁶ Dugdale, Monast. vi, 240.

⁷ Watson's Earls of Warren, i, 76.

⁸ Madox's Exchequer, i, 166.

of this lamentable fact. In this we find that "William de Warburton and Ingelram de Monceux give to our lord the king," John, who was just seated on his unstable throne "the sum of 500 marcs, to have the inheritance which belonged to Juliana, the wife of William the son of Aymer, whose next of kin they affirm they are."⁹ This inheritance consisted of land at Compton, in Hampshire, afterwards known as Compton Monceux. Five years later, 6^o John, Waleran de Munceux (the same with Waleran de Herst above mentioned) gave 100 marcs, in order that he might have his just proportion of the said estate, of which one-half fell to him, and the other, together with the *esnetia*, or elder son's portion, to William.¹⁰ Eleven years later, William, the son of Waleran, had seisin granted of lands in Hampshire, probably the estate in question. What the connection between Ingelram and Waleran was, it is difficult to determine, but it seems that it was from him that the name was adopted, which was thenceforward borne by the family (that of Herst being entirely dropped), and which has been perpetuated in the names of the parishes, Herstmonceux and Compton Monceux, in Hampshire.

Waleran appears again in 1207 as one of the bail of Roger, the son of Adam, sheriff of Hampshire;¹¹ but he must have died shortly after that date, as in the first year of Henry III, A.D. 1217, his son and heir, William, had "such seisin of his lands," granted by the sheriff of Hampshire,

⁹ Rot. de Fin. Hardy, vol. i, p. 19, 1^o John, A.D. 1199.—"SUTHAMT. Willelmus de Werbintona et Engelramus de Muntcell dant Domino Regi D. Marcas pro habenda hereditate quæ fuit Julianæ uxoris Willelmi filii Aldelmi cujus heredes sunt propinquiore ut dicunt. Solvende sunt per tres annos ad festum Sancti Michaelis proximi post coronationem Domini Regis."

¹⁰ Rot de Fin. Hardy, vol. i, p. 310, 6^o John, A.D. 1205.—"SUTHAMT. Waleranus de Munceaus dat centum marcas pro habenda rationabili parte sua de hereditate quæ fuit Julianæ quondam uxoris Willelmi filii Audelmi versus Willelmum de Warberton, unde ipsi Waleranus et Willelmus sunt heredes, scilicet quod una medietas illius hereditatis remanet predicto Willelmo cum esnetia, et alia medietas predicto Walerano. Et mandatum est Vicecomiti quod per visum legalium et discretorum hominum de comitatu suo, fieri faciat partitionem de terra quæ fuit ipsius Julianæ in Sirefeld et Cumton secundum formam præscriptam, et predicto Willelmo plenariam saisinam habere faciat de medietate predictarum terrarum cum esnetia, et de alia medietate predicto Walerano, et qualiter illam partitionem fecerit, et quis eorum quam porcionem habuerit, Domino Regi scire faciat per literas suas, et blada et alia catalla illarum terrarum salvo custodiat donec utrique illorum suam porcionem assignaverit."

¹¹ Hardy, Rot. de Fin. i, 447.

“as he had, on the day that he receded from the fealty and service of King John.”¹²

Four years later, 1221, May 18th, we find William de Monceaux attached to the family of William earl of Warren; and the king commanded the sheriff of Sussex not to put him on any assize, in consequence of this connection.¹³

In 1225-6, William de Monceaux was constable of Pevensey Castle,¹⁴ then in the hands of the before-named Earl of Warren; upon whose death, in 1240, leaving his son and heir, John, not more than four or five years old, he appears as guardian of his lands;¹⁵ a lucrative office, which he was forced to resign, in the following year, to the royal favourite, Peter of Savoy, uncle to the young Queen Eleanor. The honours heaped on this nobleman and the other relations of the queen, who, though aliens in blood, monopolised the chief offices of dignity in the realm, and were enriched with the spoils of the young noblemen placed under their guardianship, produced great disgust among the neglected English,¹⁶ and may be reckoned among the causes which led to the alienation of the barons from their sovereign, and the sanguinary battles of Lewes and Evesham. In 1241-2, when the inquisitions contained in the *Testa de Nevill* for Sussex were taken, Peter de Savoy is returned as holding the honour of Warren,¹⁷ as guardian of the earl, as well as the honour and barony of the Eagle in capite, for two knights' fees and a

¹² Clause Rolls, 1 Hen. III, p. 310.

¹³ Clause Rolls, p. 458, 5 Hen. III. “Rex Vicecomiti Sussex salutem, præcipimus tibi quod non ponas vel poni permittas Willelmum de Muncell militem et socium dilecti et fidelis nostri Willelmi Comitis Warrem in aliqua assisa quamdiu fuerit de familia ipsius Com. West. May 18.”

¹⁴ Dugdale, Bar. i, 76, 77; Clause Rolls, 10 Hen. III.

¹⁵ Excerpt. e Rot. Fin. p. 344. P'. Johe de Burgo. Mandatum est Willo de Munceaus, *custodi terrarum quæ fuerunt Willelmi Comitis Warrenn*, quod demandam quam facit Johi de Burgo pro relevio suo pro terris quæ fuerunt Margerie sororis predicti Johis quas tenuit de prædicto Com. ponat in respectum usque ad festum sci. Johis Bapt., anno, &c., xxv. T. R. apud Windlesor (Windsor), j. die Jun. 25 Hen. III, 1241.

¹⁶ Anno gratiæ 1242. Rumor de adventu Comitis Richardi, de Terra Sancta redeuntis, percrebuit. Quo cognito Petrus de Sabaudia, Comes Richemundiæ, castra regni eminentiora et famosiora, quæ susceperat custodienda, in manum regis, ut vir discretus et circumspectus, prudenter resignavit. Intellexit enim quod magnates Angliæ magnum de ejus repentina exaltatione conceperant indignationem, unde nimis adventum comitis formidabat. Porro hæc ipsius Petri prudentia multorum corda sedavit. (Matt. West. p. 307.)

¹⁷ Testa de Nevill, pp. 222, 223.

half; under him William de Munceus held half a fee in Herst, and two fees and a half under Alice, countess of Eu,¹⁸ who then held the honour of Hastings. From other parts of the same collection of documents, we find that he also held Little Ongar, in Essex,¹⁹ and three-fourths of a knight's fee in Cumpton,²⁰ by the service of *mareschaucie*, i. e. of shoeing and acting as farrier to the king's horses, whenever it might please him to require such services.

Waleran de Monceus, second of the name, succeeded his father, William, and took a prominent part in the civil disturbances of the times, on the side of Simon de Montfort, against King Henry III; who, in the spring of 1264 (as we learn from a MS. cited in Mr. Lower's 'Chronicle of Battel Abbey'), when on his way from Battel to the disastrous field of Lewes, spent the night at Herstmonceaux, where, while his army were employing themselves in hunting and destroying the park, a certain nobleman, named Roger de Tournay, struck by a stray arrow in the throat, miserably perished.²¹ This notice establishes the fact of the existence of a manor-house previous to the erection of the present Castle, of which no other record is met with; even its site cannot be accurately determined, though it is probable that it stood in the same position as at present, as the fine Spanish chestnut trees to the west of the Castle seem to be older than the building itself; and as this must doubtless have been the reason why the church erected in the 13th century (one having existed at the time of the Domesday survey) was placed at the extremity of the parish, at a distance from all the inhabitants, except the immediate retainers of the lord of the manor.

The battle of Lewes terminated, as it is needless to remind the reader, in the total defeat of the king and his forces. Among the prisoners taken by de Montfort was Robert de

¹⁸ Alice, daughter of Henry VI, earl of Eu, married Raoul de Lusignan, *circa* 1200; she died *circa* 1246, and was buried in the abbey of Foucarmont. (Estancelin, p. 59.)

¹⁹ Testa de Nevill, p. 269.

²⁰ *Ib.* pp. 234, 235, 237.

²¹ "Apud Herst una nocte hospitatus ubi, dum exercitus venationi et destructioni parci insisteret, quidam nobilis Rogerus de Tournay casu miserabili ictu sagittæ in gutture percussus interiit." (MS. Chron. in Bibl. Bodl.; Lower's Chronicle of Battel Abbey, p. 201.)

Pierpoint of Hurstpierpoint, who was "put to no less than 700 marks fine for his ransom; for the payment whereof, besides his own bond, he was constrained to bring in, as security, Waleran de Munceaus," who it will be remembered had espoused the cause of the barons.²²

Waleran himself after the ruin of his party at Evesham, followed the fortunes of the heroic Eleanor, widow of de Montfort, and formed one of the garrison with which she attempted to hold out Dover Castle against the royal forces during the summer of 1265. After her departure to France, in October of the same year, the Castle was recovered by Prince Edward, and in the following year we are glad to read the record of the pardon of Waleran de Monceus, among many others.²³

The next record in which the name of Waleran appears (7^o Ed. I, A.D. 1278-9) speaks of more quiet times, and a more settled state of public affairs. It is a claim brought by him through his attorney,²⁴ by name Simon de Sipton, for the right of freewarren at Herst and Lankestrode; the claim was brought before a jury who decided in Waleran's favour; with a reservation for the rights of the king to moot the question again whenever he might see fit. His wife was Joan de Saunford, a tenant of the king *in capite*, whose lands were taken into the king's hand on her death in 1278. She also held the manor of Shelley in Essex, of the earl of Hereford, by the service of one knight's fee.²⁵ About this period Herstmonceux was honoured by another royal visit: on Friday, Sept. 15th, 1302, Edward I visited Herstmonceux on his way from Michelham Priory to Battel.²⁶

On the death of Waleran the manor passed to his son John, who died in the 30th year of Edward I, and by a post-mortem inquiry was found possessed of Compton Manor, Hants, and East Hurst, Sussex. His son, John de Monceux,

²² Dugdale's Baronage, ii, p. 457.

²³ Blaauw, Barons' War.

²⁴ Placit. de quo warranto, fol. 757.

²⁵ Orig. Abbrev. vol. i, p. 30, 6 Edw. I. "Mandatum est Ricardo de Halebrok et Radulfo de Sandroyde quod capiant in manum Regis omnes terras et tenementa de quibus Johanna de Saunford quæ fuit uxor Walerani de Mounceaus, quæ de Rege tenuit in capite obiit seisita." (Morant's Essex, i, p. 146.)

²⁶ Suss. Arch. Collections, II, p. 153.

succeeded him, whose fealty the king accepted in the same year²⁷ for lands at Compton, by the annual service of 13s. 4d.

This John died 9^o or 10^o Ed. II, leaving this manor (which he was found to hold of John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, for two knights' fees and a half²⁸) and Compton, to his son, who bore the same name, and at the time of his father's death was twenty years and a half old.

This was the last possessor of the manor who bore the name by which it still continues to be distinguished. John de Monceaux died without issue, and his sister, Maud, who inherited his estates, carried them into the noble family of Fienes, on her marriage with Sir John de Fienes about the middle of Edward the Second's reign.²⁹ It will now be necessary to leave the immediate subject of our consideration for a short time, and turn our attention to the family of Fienes, who then became the possessors of the manor of Herstmonceaux, and in whose descendants it remained till the time of Queen Anne.

This family, which for many generations was one of the most considerable in the south of England, derived its origin from Conon de Fiennes,³⁰ who in 1112 was earl of Boulogne, taking his name from a village in the Boulonnais territory. John de Fiennes, one of the same family, but, according to Duchesne, of another branch, accompanied the Conqueror and was by him made hereditary constable of Dover Castle,³¹

²⁷ Rot. Orig. Abbrev. p. 123. *Muntens* has been printed by an error for *Munceus*.

²⁸ Inq. p. mort. 10 Edw. II.

²⁹ She was married before 20 Edw. III, in which year Matilda de Ferrers, wife of John de Insula, was found to hold the manor of Compton Monceaux for life, of John de Fienes and Maud his wife. Eschæct. 20 Edw. III.

³⁰ Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, vi, p. 388. Duchesne, Histoire de la Maison de Chastillon sur Marne, pp. 288, 289.

³¹ Sciendum est quod Dominus Willelmus dux Normanniæ postquam per bellum acquisivit regnum Angliæ, Sociis comitibus multos honores prout decuit largitus est; inter cætera constabulariam Castri Doveriæ in perpetuum feodum contulit Domino de Fienis. Dedit etiam eidem Domino 50 milites, et dim. militem; ipse vero ut gratus domino suo et fidelis, assignavit hos milites ad custodiam dicti castri, viz. quod quolibet mense intrarent quatuor ad custodiam dicti castri et in fine mensis illis recedentibus venirent alii loco illorum, et sic potuerunt proficere turnum suum semel per annum. Omnes isti predicti milites faciebant wardam castri per se vel per alios secundum cursum predictum usque ad tempus Regis Johannis. Dominus vero Fenes (qui pro tempore fuit) semper fuit constabularius castri. Tandem Rex et magnates sui considerantes non esse tutum alienigenam et alterius regis hominem habere custodiam principalis castri totius regni, fecerunt gratiam

and warden of the Cinque Ports ; offices which were enjoyed by five of his descendants³² till the time of King John ; when John de Fienes was removed on the plea that "it was not consistent with the security of the country that a foreigner, who owed allegiance to another sovereign, should hold the principal castle of the kingdom, which was as it were the lock and key of the whole realm." The wardenship was then given to Hubert de Burgh, and John de Fienes had an equivalent granted him elsewhere. The statement given by Collins and others is that he received the manor of Wendover, Bucks, in exchange for the constablership of Dover ; but this is probably incorrect, as that manor came into the family by the marriage of Ingelram de Fienes (the progenitor of the branch under consideration) with Sibyl de Tingrie,³³ the daughter and heiress of Pharamuse of Boulogne, the nephew of Maud the queen of Stephen. A royal marriage was at that time, as we have already had occasion to remark, regarded as the signal for the arrival in England of swarms of needy foreigners, the relations or dependants of the new queen, who were too often enriched at the expense of the more legitimate candidates for the favour of their sovereign. Pharamuse seems to have risen high in the esteem of his royal uncle, from whom he received, in addition to the lucrative position of Comptroller of his Household and other substantial proofs of his affection, the manors of Wendover, Bucks,³⁴ and Clapham and Carshalton in Surry.³⁵ The manor of Martok in Somerset he was already possessed of by inheritance, from Eustace, earl of Boulogne, father of the well-known Godfrey, king of Jerusalem, to whom it had been given by William the Conqueror.³⁶ Sibyl inherited the whole of these vast domains, which, by her marriage with Ingelram de Fienes, she transferred to that family, who from that time appear to have made England their principal home. Ingelram

dicto domino de Fenes alibi, et ita recessit de officio constabularii et Dominus Hubertus de Burgo Comes Kancie factus est constabularius castri. (Ex Cod. MS. in Scacc. vocato, "le Quire de Dover." MSS. Burrell, 5679, 699. MSS. Addit. 5485, 178.)

³² Jeakes's Cinque Ports, p. 47. Hasted's Kent.

³³ Tingrie is a small village in the vicinity of Boulogne.

³⁴ Lysons' Bucks, p. 659; Lipscombe's Bucks, ii, p. 468. Pharamuse gave the advowson of Wendover to the canons of S. Mary Overys, Southwark, circa 1141. Sibyl increased the benefaction with "all the tithe of hay" from the same parish.

³⁵ Manning and Bray's Surrey, iii, p. 360; ii, p. 508.

³⁶ Collinson's Somerset.

accompanied Philip, earl of Flanders, to the Holy Land, and was slain at the siege of Acre, A.D. 1190. Nine years later, (1 John) the widowed Sibyl purchased at the price of 200 marcs, the confirmation of her manors, and "licence to marry whomsoever she pleased of the king's faithful subjects;"³⁷ a license which, as she remained unmarried till her death, must be interpreted as a permission to consult her own pleasure as to a second marriage, and not be forced to accept the highest bidder for her hand as a husband.

Sibyl, after her husband's death "in viduitate et libera potestate mea," confirmed the grant of a hide of land in Balham, belonging to the manor of Clapham, to the abbey of Bec, in Normandy.³⁸ Another gift of hers on record strikes a reader as somewhat extraordinary. It is that of one William Hauwis, a freeman, belonging to her manor of Wendover "with all belonging to him, and all the progeny he has or ever may have, together with all his goods and chattels," to Reginald son of Alexander, lord of Hampden, who is in return to render to her and her heirs two capons yearly at Martinmas.³⁹ A similar benefaction is recorded on the part of her son William, who gave to the canons of S. Mary Missenden in frank almoigne all the land which Wimond held of him in Wendover, and *Wimond himself* "cum tota sequela et progenie suâ."⁴⁰

Sibyl, who in 1201 gave the king 20 marcs for leave to cross the seas,⁴¹ was alive in 1217:⁴² her manors seem to have been transferred in her lifetime to her son William,⁴³ who married Agnes de Dammartin, sister of Renaud, earl of Boulogne⁴⁴ and Simon, Count of Ponthieu.

³⁷ Rotuli de Obl. p. 2, A. D. 1199. "Sebilis de Tingera dat dno regi cc marcas pro habenda terra de Maretoc et de Wendovra, et pro licenciâ maritandi se cuicunque voluerit de fidelibus dni regis." Manning and Bray refer to a similar record relating to the manor of Clapham, iii, p. 360.

³⁸ Dugdale's Monast. vi, p. 1068.

³⁹ MSS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 6845, 174.

⁴⁰ Dugdale's Monast. vi, p. 549.

⁴¹ Rotuli de Oblatis. Hardy, 145. A. D. 1201, Buckingham. "Sibilla de Fenes dat xx marcas pro eodem (i. e. pro transfretatione) tenet scoda ij militum et non plus ut dicit."

⁴² Clause Rolls, i, p. 372. She paid scutage in Surrey, A. D. 1217.

⁴³ Clause Rolls, i, pp. 68, 79, 185, 228, 294.

⁴⁴ Two sons of William de Fienes, together with his own wife, and others were given as pledges of fidelity by Reginald Dammartin, earl of Boulogne, when rendering homage and fealty to King John, A. D. 1212. (Rymer, Fœd. i, 1, 50.)

In 1206, April 19th, King John granted William de Fienes "such plenary seisin of the manor of Martok, Somerset, as his mother Sibyl had."⁴⁵ A year afterwards, Mar. 15th, 1207, this manor and that of Wendover, Bucks, were still in her hand, and the king issued his warrant from Farnham to the sheriffs of the two counties to give William possession of the lands "which his mother Sibyl gave up before us in our court,"⁴⁶ and to allow her a reasonable provision, "*rationabile estuverium*" from the same land.

From the various entries in the Clause Rolls, William would appear, at one time, to have stood high in his sovereign's favour. A few years subsequent to the foregoing extracts, a warrant appears to "William the son of Peter to allow Luke, William de Fienes's chaplain, to have one palfrey" probably out of the royal stud "on purchase."⁴⁷ Both Wendover and Martok, being portions of the royal demesne, appear to have been continually taken into the king's hand, and transferred from the Fienes to other lords, who might happen, for the time, to stand higher in the favour of the fickle sovereign, or whose good will it was desirable to purchase by some substantial mark of royal approbation. These frequent changes caused great intricacy in the records of this period. Collins refers to an ancient deed, which proves that Martok⁴⁸ had been, at one time, held by William, the son of King Stephen, who gave it to William de Fienes. Wendover, which we have seen, was among the possessions of Pharamuse and his daughter Sibyl, we find, A.D. 1210, in the hands of Hugh Gurney, who gave 700 marcs for licence to hold it.⁴⁹ In 1214 he took part with the rebellious barons, and forfeited his lands, which were not however immediately restored to their legitimate owner, but in lieu of them the sum of £60 was assigned out of the royal treasury,⁵⁰ "*donec ei alibi providerimus.*" The next year (Sept. 15, 1215), the sheriff was commanded by the king to grant him full seisin of his hereditary estate of Wendover. John was then at Dover, anxiously awaiting the mercenary recruits from the continent, by whose means he hoped to reduce the insurgent barons, and annul the great

⁴⁵ Clause Rolls, i, p. 68.⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 79.⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 112.⁴⁸ Collins's Proceedings, p. 55.⁴⁹ Lipscombe's Bucks.⁵⁰ Clause Rolls, i, p. 185.

charter, which had just been extorted from him ; and from the tenor of the above-mentioned warrant, he would seem to have reckoned on the active support of William de Fienes in the accomplishment of his purpose. But since, in the next year, July 25, 1216,⁵¹ de Fienes was deprived of his manor of Martok, and described in the warrant as "being with the king's enemies," "*qui cum inimicis nostris est*," the probable inference is that he had refused to accede to John's demands, and had joined the standard of the French Prince Louis, to whom the barons had offered the English crown. It is however not improbable that he was disgusted with the arrogance of Louis, and soon returned to his allegiance ; for in little more than a month (Sept. 5, 1216),⁵² full seisin of his manor of Wendover, which was probably forfeited at the same time with Martok, was restored by the king, who, in five weeks from that time (October 18), terminated his inglorious existence at Newark-on-Trent. One of the first acts of those who exercised the royal authority in the name of the young King Henry III, was to issue a warrant to the bishop of Winton, commanding him to allow W. de Fienes peaceable possession of his lands "*in baillâ suâ*,"⁵³ so long as he rendered faithful service to the king. And the next year (Jan. 27, 1217), such seisin in the vill of Martok is granted, as he had before the war ;⁵⁴ and in 1218 we find he had already paid 200 mares for having seisin of Wendover.⁵⁵ In 1221 he paid a hundred mares for having custody of the lands in Kent, which belonged to Arnold, Earl of Guisnes.⁵⁶ Martok and Wendover were taken into the king's hand, on account of his not coming or sending to the king's army in Wales,⁵⁷ but he soon made his peace with his feeble sovereign, and had re-seisin granted of his lands.

In the Testa de Nevill⁵⁸ the name of W. de Fienes occurs, as holding one fee in Gessick All Saints, and two fees, one of which was of the new assessment (*unde unum de novo*) in Somerset and Dorset, for which he paid scutage to the amount of £2. 3s. 4d. in the nineteenth and twentieth years of Henry III, A.D. 1235-6. He also held a fee in Carshalton,

⁵¹ Clause Rolls, i, p. 278.⁵² Ibid. p. 286.⁵³ Ibid. p. 294.⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 297.⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 367.⁵⁶ Rot. Excerpt. e Rot Fin. p. 65.⁵⁷ Clause Rolls, i, p. 572.⁵⁸ Testa de Nevill, pp. 160, 166, 168.

and half a fee in Clapham of Hugh de Bohun.⁵⁹ Two years later, 1238, an inquest was held, to determine whether he ought to do more service than that of one knight for the six knights' fees he held of the king in the honour of Boulogne.⁶⁰

In the year 1294 he was commanded to fit himself with horse and arms, and attend the king at Portsmouth, on the first of September, and thence to sail with him to Gascony.⁶¹

William de Fienes died 25 Hen. III, A.D. 1240-1, and was succeeded by his son Ingelram, who married a daughter of Jacques, lord of Condè, by whom he had two sons, William, and Giles, the progenitor of the Fieneses of Herstmonceux. He inherited his paternal manors, and, A.D. 1243, March 3, "received the king's discharge for ten pounds, which he owed for his relief, and had respite for a further debt of fifteen marcs."⁶² The next year his manors of Martok, Clapham, Wendover, &c., were taken into the king's hand, by reason of an inquisition concerning the lands of Normans and strangers: but his mother Agnes was permitted to have the administration of her son's goods together with the wheat and other produce of the manors,⁶³ until their restoration, which does not seem to have been long deferred.⁶⁴ About this period many entries occur in the Close and Fine Rolls, confirming the remittance⁶⁵ of the debts of his father and grandmother Sibyl, and postponing the demand of his own from time to time. In the Testa de Nevill he stands as the inheritor of his father's manors of Clapham and Carshalton; the latter held of H. de Bohun, earl of Hereford, of the honour of Mandevill.⁶⁶

Ingelram played a very conspicuous part in the civil wars, which caused so much misery and bloodshed during the reign of the weak and fickle Henry III; and in all the complicated scenes of confusion which accompanied the contest between the king and the barons, he remained firm in his allegiance to his sovereign. In 1263 he apprehended young Prince Henry, at Boulogne,⁶⁷ who had joined the barons against the king, his uncle, and had pursued John Mansel, the obnoxious

⁵⁹ Testa de Nevill, p. 220.

⁶¹ Rymer Foed. I, iii, p. 131.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 415; Clause Roll, 29 Hen. III.

⁶⁵ Collins's Proceedings; Rot. de Fin. ii, pp. 250, 277; Clause, 31 Hen. III.

⁶⁶ Testa de Nevill, pp. 221, 229.

⁶⁰ Madox's Exchequer, i, 648.

⁶² Rot. Excerpt. e Rot. Fin. p. 405.

⁶⁴ Hunter's Rot. Select. p. 265.

⁶⁷ Blaauw's Barons' War, p. 89.

favourite of Henry, who had fled to France, and threw him into prison at Boulogne. This act, which it was suspected the queen had instigated, caused great indignation to the barons, though the prince was soon liberated on the request of the king of the Romans. Ingelram distinguished himself by his valour on the field of Evesham. The date of his death is uncertain, but it occurred before the 54th Henry III, A.D. 1269-70, when William de Fienes, who "was in parts beyond sea at his father's decease," was found to be his heir.⁶⁸ He had accompanied Saint Louis in his expedition to the Holy Land A.D. 1248, and in this very year his name occurs among the knights of the household who attended that king on his expedition to Tunis;⁶⁹ after the fatal termination of which, he and his brother Sir Giles proceeded a second time to Palestine in the train of Prince Edward and his cousin, the son of the king of the Romans. The guardianship of his lands was granted to the queen until his return to England,⁷⁰ and William de Ambesas⁷¹ was appointed his attorney to manage his affairs during his absence. Ambesas, as bailiff of Martok, Gayton,⁷² Clapham, and Carshalton, had ample opportunity of enriching himself at his lord's expense, an art he seems to have understood so well, that on de Fienes's return in 1292 he found it necessary to enter an action against him, to compel him to give an account of his stewardship. The result was however that he not only, by means of a legal quibble, successfully resisted the demand, but turned the tables on his old master, leaving him at the mercy of the court for putting forward a false claim.⁷³

⁶⁸ Clause Rolls, 54 Hen. III.

⁶⁹ Joinville's Memoirs of Saint Louis, 533, 534.

⁷⁰ Clause Rolls, 54 Henry III; "W. de Fienes profectus est ad terram sanctam."

⁷¹ Manning and Bray, ii, 508.

⁷² The honour of Chokes, in the parish of Gayton, Towcester hundred, county of Northampton, had belonged to Robert, brother of Baldwin, earl of Guisnes, of whom Ingelram de Fienes purchased it, A.D. 1249, for 700 marks. His grandson, John de Fienes, having been attainted A.D. 1339, the fees of this honour, together with that of Wendover, were granted to John de Molins. (Baker's Northamptonshire, ii, 272-3.)

⁷³ Placit. Term Trin., 20 E. I. The brief was directed to the sheriff of Surrey, and Ambesas asserting that Martok and Gayton were not under the jurisdiction of that official, "*petit iudicium si debet ei ad istud breve Vicecomiti Surriensi directum respondere; et W. de Fienes non potest hoc dedicere, ideo concessum quod prædictus W. de Fienes nihil capiat per breve istud, sed in misericordia pro falso clameo.*"

William de Fienes died 30^o Edw. I, 1301-2,⁷⁴ in which year the king received the homage of John his son and heir, recording at the same time that "though he could not prove his age according to the customs of England, from being born in parts beyond sea, yet because the king remembered that he had received the homage of his father William, and that he had died in homage and fidelity, he received his homage and rendered him his lands and tenements, of special favour."⁷⁵ From a post mortem inquisition held at Martok in the same year it appears that John was then twenty-one years old, and that "the manor was held of the king in capite for one knight's fee, together with a capital messuage and garden, worth 8s. 4d."⁷⁶

During the shameful reign of Edward the Second, John was a supporter of the rebellious faction. His sister, Mary, had married Edmund Mortimer, and when their son Roger Mortimer, the paramour of the infamous Isabella,

"She-wolf of France, with unrelenting fangs,
That tearest the bowels of thy mangled mate,"

escaping by night from the Tower, where he was lying under sentence of death, accompanied the queen in her flight to France, he was received and hospitably maintained by his uncle, John de Fienes, whom on this account the king attainted and deprived of all his estates in England.⁷⁷ After the murder of Edw. II in Berkely Castle, when all the power of the realm was for a time vested in Isabella and Mortimer, John was of course restored⁷⁸ to his lands and honours, by a warrant in the young king's name, dated York, July 3d, 1327. On the invasion of France by Edward III, John de Fienes espoused the cause of the French king, and "rendered help to the king's enemies," for which conduct his attainder was confirmed, and his manors granted to other more faithful subjects of the house of Plantagenet.⁷⁹ After this date all

⁷⁴ He was found to have enfeoffed Thomas Romeyn and Julian his wife, of the manor of Clapham (Esch. 30 Edw. I), which he had previously sold to and repurchased of Sir Wm. de Medborne, clerk. He held more than twenty librates of land in Sussex. 25 Edw. I, A.D. 1296-7.

⁷⁵ Clause Roll, 30 Edw. I.

⁷⁶ Eschæ. 30 Edw. I.

⁷⁷ Clause Roll, 17 Edw. II.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 1 Edw. III.

⁷⁹ Martok was granted to Wm. de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, Pat. Mar. 5, 14 Edw. III; and, on the same day, Pinkeney, Chokes, and Wendover, to Sir John Molins.

further mention of John de Fienes in our English records ceases. He became naturalized in France, where his son, (by his wife Isabella, seventh daughter of Guy Dampierre, earl of Flanders,) Robert surnamed "Le Moreau" became Grand Constable, and died without issue *circa* 1370.⁸⁰

We must now turn to another member of this family; Giles, son of Ingelram II, and uncle of the above-mentioned John, who prior to 7^o Edw. II, 1313-14 had married Sibyl the daughter and heiress of William Filiol of Oldcourt in the parish of Wartling, and Cecilia his wife, sister of Aymer de Chanceaux.⁸¹ The Filiols were an Essex family, and in all probability derived their name, according to Morant, from one of their progenitors having been the godson "*filiolus, filleul*" of one of the kings of England.⁸² The manor of Oldcourt was situated to the west of Wartling Church, and the manor-house, of which no remains are now traceable, stood on the high bank which hangs so picturesquely over the road to Pevensy.⁸³ Some interesting particulars concerning Sibyl Filiol may be gathered from the record in the assize rolls of our county of a suit brought by her and her husband, Giles de Fienes against Richard de Pageham; to recover forty pounds as a compensation for her violent abduction on

⁸⁰ Duchesne says (Hist. de la Maison de Chastillon, p. 289), "Robert le Moreau rendit de grands services aux Rois Philippe de Valois, Jean, and Charles V, qui l'employèrent en plusieurs grands negociations." He became constable of France after the battle of Poitiers. In 1358 he was appointed lieutenant of the king and Regent in Picardy; in April 1359, he took S. Valery and other fortresses, and restored Auxerre and other places to their obedience, and when the king of England came to lay siege to Paris, he came to serve under the Regent, and, in the month of April 1360, by order of the Dauphin, went to England, to speak to the king. On his return he served in Languedoc as the king's lieutenant, and obliged his enemies to quit the country: he was present at the coronation of Charles V, in 1364, and six years afterwards resigned the Constableness, by reason of age, to Bertrand du Guesclin.

⁸¹ Collins's Proceedings. After her husband's death Cecilia married Ralph de Gymenton. Placit. Reg. 53 Hen. III.

⁸² The Filiols held the manor of Kelvedon, Essex. Morant says (ii, p. 251), "By a seal appended to a grant of Wm. Filiols, to Coggeshall Abbey, which bears the device of a Font, with a King on one side, and a Bishop on the other, holding a Child, as in the ceremony of baptism, it is reasonably supposed that the family had a tradition that this surname had been given at the baptism of one of them, by some of the kings of England."

⁸³ "This manor standeth one mile distant from the place of Herstmonceux, adjoining to the park of Herstmonceux, in the south side thereof; the same being an ancient manor, the site being moated about without any edifices." (Hayley MSS.)

the thirtieth of August, 1223. The brief sets forth⁸⁴ "that on the Morrow of the Decollation of S. John the Baptist, Aug. 30th, 1223, Richard de Pageham did take, and cause to be taken by some persons unknown, the said Sibyl by night at Wartling, and carried her off, and led her from place to place, until he imprisoned her at Rungeton, and kept her there for three years, to the grievous harm of the said Giles and Sibyl." De Pageham defended himself by claiming her parents' license for all that he had done, inasmuch as William Filiol her father and Cecilia his wife had granted him "the marriage, guardianship, and nourishment of Sibyl after her father's death for the sum of 200 marks, of which he had paid six marks; and that, after her father's death, her mother gave him the nourishment of the said Sibyl, and yielded corporal possession by reason of marriage and nourishment, as before agreed on, and that he had done no harm to her nor imprisoned her."

It is difficult from the face of the brief to determine how far Sibyl and her husband were justified in the charge they brought against De Pageham, or to what extent his conduct was authorised by the agreement between him and her father. Sibyl was alive in 1296, so that she must have been very young, in all probability a mere child, in 1223, the date of the so-called abduction, which might in fact have amounted to no more than the lawful guardian taking his ward into his own keeping until she were of age to choose a natural protector for herself. At all events, it is clear that Giles felt there was little chance of obtaining the desired satisfaction, for when the day of trial arrived, and he was summoned to support the prosecution, he failed to appear, leaving himself and his bail at the mercy of the court, which ordered that the names of those who had stood his bail should be called, but eventually finding that he had license to withdraw his brief, extended its pardon to him for his contempt.⁸⁵

In 1269, when the wise adoption by Henry III, at the parliament of Marlborough, of the most valuable of the provisions of De Montfort, had disarmed resistance and thoroughly

⁸⁴ Collins's Proceedings, 7 Edw. I, 1278-9.

⁸⁵ "Egidius solemniter vocatus non venit, et fuit querens. Ideo ipse et plegii sui de proseguendo, in misericordia. Querantur nomina plegiorum. Pardonatur misericordia quia licentiam habuit recedendi de brevi suo."

tranquillised the country, which had been so long torn by intestine strife, Prince Edward and his cousin Henry took the cross, and set out for the Holy Land, accompanied by nearly one hundred and fifty English lords and knights. Among these were Sir William de Fienes and his brother Sir Giles.⁸⁶ They probably left Palestine with Edward in the year 1273, and returned to England; five years afterwards Sir Giles appears as the plaintiff in the suit against De Pageham, and five years later still we meet with a warrant under the royal seal of Edw. I, dated Carnarvon, Aug. 13th, 1283,⁸⁷ empowering him to take three bucks from Epping Forest, and commanding the warden of the forest to give him all the help in his power in hunting them. In the year 1289-90 his name occurs⁸⁸ as having freewarren at "Veillecourt" (*i.e.* Oldcourt), and Mersham, and he appears to have died before 1293, leaving his estates to his son John. His widow, Sibyl, had the quiet possession of her goods confirmed to her by royal warrant dated S. Albans, Jan. 24th, 1296, the deed expressing that it was in return for the good allegiance of her husband.

John de Fienes married Joan Jordaine,⁸⁹ daughter and heiress of Jordan son of Reginald, hereditary Forester of Windsor Park, an office which remained for some generations in this family.⁹⁰ He died 5^o Edw. III, A.D. 1331, and was succeeded by his son John, the husband of Maud de Monceux, heiress of Herstmonceux. This John de Fienes died April 5th, A.D. 1351,⁹¹ seised of the manors of Herst and Compton Monceux. On his death there was an inquisition held at Herstmonceux before Thomas Hoo, the king's escheator in Sussex, and the jury found that "John de Fienes and his wife held the manor and advowson of the church, of the earl of

⁸⁶ Clause Roll, 54^o Hen. III. ⁸⁷ *Ib.*, 11^o Edw. I. ⁸⁸ Calend. Rot. Chart. 18^o Edw. I.

⁸⁹ Collins's Proceedings, 23^o Edw. I. On her husband's death she married Sir Adam de Shareshull, and was alive 34^o Edw. III.

⁹⁰ Sir W. de Fienes was admitted forester of Windsor on his father's death, and by an inq. post mort. held at Twyford in January 1402, he was found to have held a certain bailly in Windsor Forest called "Le Twichen," worth twenty-four shillings and sixpence, or payment of ten shillings annually.

⁹¹ Eschæet. 25^o Edw. III. Johannes de Fienes obiit quinto die April. et Matilda uxor ejus defuncta fuit hæres de Herst Monceaux in com. Sussex et Compton Monceaux in com. Southampton, et Willelmus de Fienes filius et hæres eorum fuit ætatis 21 annorum in fest. purif. B. V. M.

Richmond, as lord of the honour of Hastings, by service of one knight's fee, on rendering 1 lb of cumin-seed every Michaelmas; and that William de Fienes son of John was the next heir." William succeeded his father, and married Joan, daughter and heiress of Geoffrey, Lord Say, and died in 1361. At the inquisition held after his death the jury found that "at Herstmonceux there is a capital messuage with garden adjoining, which is worth nothing a year, beyond the reprises;⁹² that there are 350 acres of arable land lying in marsh, of which two parts can be sowed yearly, and that an acre is worth 9*d.* a year, beyond the reprises, producing altogether £13. 2*s.* 6*d.*; there are 199 acres of arable land, two-thirds of which can be sowed every year, of which each acre is worth 4*d.* when sown, when not sown 3*d.*, as pasturage for beasts; the other third is worth 2*d.* an acre as pasture; there are 10 acres of meadow, worth 10*s.* a year; the value of an acre is 12*d.* and no more, because it is often flooded, and cannot be mown except in a dry season; 20 acres of bush, worth 3*s.* 4*d.* a year, for pasturage of sheep and other beasts; 8 acres of bush called *Bemsell*,⁹³ worth nothing because they are copse, and were cut down before William's death; 80 acres of arable called Lewstrode, worth 20*s.* a year; the price of an acre is 3*d.* for pasture, because it cannot be sown and "is overgrown with heath;" 20 acres of bush called Bokage in Lewstrode, worth nothing because they are copse. Lewstrode and Bemsell are alienated to William de Batisford in fee. "And they say that the rents from the free tenants and '*nativi*' there amount to £17. 16*s.* 2*d.*, and the labour of the bondmen⁹⁴ in the autumn and winter is worth 58*s.*; the perquisites of the Court are 3*s.* 4*d.*"

John de Fienes, who was not three years old at the time of his father's death, followed him to the tomb at the early age of seventeen, March 24th, 1375. During his life two-thirds

⁹² Reprises are defined by Cowell (Law Dictionary) as "deductions and duties which are yearly paid out of a manor, as rent-charge, pensions, annuities, fees of stewards or bailiffs."

⁹³ A small farm in the north-west part of the parish of Wartling is still known by the name of *Bemsell*s. Another farm not very far distant bears the name of *Prinkle*, another proof of the permanence of minor local names, one of the jurors on the inquisition held on the death of John de Fienes, in 1251, being *Alan Prinkle*.

⁹⁴ Bondmen were those who bound themselves by covenant to serve; *nativi* were born servants. (Cowell's Law Dictionary.)

of his manors were vested in the king on account of his being a minor, and we find that in the year 1370, Edward granted that proportion of Compton Monceux to Walter Haywode,⁹⁵ to hold till John should come of age. A post-mortem inquisition held at Herstmonceux two years after his death, Oct. 27th, 1377, records that the two parts were in the hands of the king, adding pithily "*sed quo titulo nesciunt.*" The remaining third part was held by his mother Johanna, as dowry after the death of her husband.⁹⁶ In the Calendar of post-mortem Inquisitions he appears as the holder of the hundred of Ongar, Essex, and the manor of Oldcourt, in addition to those of Herst Monceux and Compton Monceux.

His heir and successor in his manors and estates was his brother William, whose name appears on several commissions⁹⁷ to view the banks, sea-coasts, and marshes in Pevensy, Hailsham, Hoo, and the adjacent parishes, during the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, and in 1401-2 assisted in drawing up the ordinances for Pevensy marsh. He married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of William de Batsford, whose wife Margery⁹⁸ was the heiress of Simon de Peplesham. With her he inherited the reversion to the manor of Bucksteep and a watermill in Warbleton parish, besides large estates in Dallington, Wartling, and other adjoining parishes. Elizabeth died before her mother Margery, on whose decease, in the year 1407, all her estates passed to her grandson Roger Fienes, the elder son of William and Elizabeth.

Sir William Fienes died in the year 1405, and was buried in the chancel of the parish-church beneath a monumental slab adorned with his portraiture in brass, in full armour,

⁹⁵ Rot. Orig. Abbrev. vol. ii, 311.

⁹⁶ Post mort. Inq. 2 Rich. II.

⁹⁷ Dugdale on Fens, pp. 92, 94.

⁹⁸ Batsford is still the name of a small farm in the southern part of the parish of Warbleton. In an *Inq. post mort.* Margery, wife of Wm. Batsford, "was found seised of 3 messuages, 100 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, 30 acres of bush, 30 acres of pasture, in Wartling, Dallington, Warbleton, and Herstmonceux, worth 26s. 8d., as of the manor of Wartling. She held a watermill at Warbilton, of John Well, clerk, as of the manor of Bokestepe, by the service of 6s. 10d. a-year. She held lands of prior of Michelham in Hailsham; 11s. 6d. rent in Borham of abbot of Bayham, of Roklands manor; and 250 acres of marsh in Pevensy, Horsey, Mankseye, as of manor of Bestenovre. She held the whole for her lifetime, of the gift and reversion of Wm. Baron and Rich. Leighton, clerks, with remainder to Elizabeth, lately wife of Wm. Fienes: she died 21st Jan. 8 Hen. VI."

under a Gothic canopy. He left two sons, Roger (who was born in the manor-house of Herstmonceux and baptised in the parish-church,⁹⁹ doubtless in the font which still stands there, on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, Sept. 14th, 1384) and James, both of whom served with distinction in the wars in France, under Henry V and the duke of Bedford. The younger, Sir James, in 1438-9 was sheriff of Sussex and Surrey, and in 1449 became lord high treasurer of England. His grandmother, as we have seen, was Joan, sister and coheir to William de Say, and in her right he was summoned to the parliament held at Bury St. Edmunds, in the year 1447, as Lord Say and Sele, and in consideration of his eminent services declared a baron of the realm.¹⁰⁰ This is not the place to pursue his history any further, or to speak of his tragical end when attempting to quell the insurrection under Jack Cade, of which an account will be found in every history of England. We must return to his elder brother Sir Roger, who inherited the Herstmonceux estate, who, we learn from the Pell-office records¹⁰¹ was retained by Henry V to accompany him in his expedition to France, with eight men-at-arms and twenty-four foot-archers, for which service the sum of £1086 was imprested to him for the wages of himself and his retinue. He shared in the victory of Azincourt, and after the death of his gallant master attended the Regent Bedford on his unsuccessful expedition in 1425, accompanied by thirty men-at-arms and ninety archers. He was treasurer of the household to Henry VI, and in this capacity the arrangements for the coronation of Margaret of Anjou were intrusted to him. The following warrants relating to this ceremony occur in Rymer.¹⁰²

“To y^e tresorer and chamberleins of eschequier greeting. We wol and charge you y^e unto our trusty and welbeloved knight, Roger Fenys, tresorer of oure howseholde, ye deliver sufficient assignement of y^e half xvth graunted unto us by y^e lay people of this oure reume now in y^e oure present parliament of y^e some of two thousand marc;

“And furthermore we wol y^e ye deliver unto him a thousand pound in prest monneye, for such charg as we must bere now at y^e tyme of y^e solempnitie of y^e coronation of our ryzt entirely welbeloved wyf ye queene.

“Yeven, &c.”

⁹⁹ Le Neve MSS. Lansd. 324.

¹⁰¹ MSS. Burrell, 5679.

¹⁰⁰ Dugdale's Baronage.

¹⁰² *Fœdera*, vol. ii, p. 83.

"To ye tresorer and chamberlains, &c.

"We wol and charge you that for such charges and expenses as now at this solempnitie of coronation of our right entirely welbeloved wyf y^e queene must be borne in our office of chief botiller of Englande, ye make sufficient assignment unto our right trusty and wellbeloved knight, Roger Fenys, tresorer of oure household, the some of a thousand pound to be had and received of the half xvth graunted to us, &c., *ut supra*.

"The xvij day of Aprill y^e xxij yeare &c. y^e king at ye priorie of Southwyk commaunded y^e keeper of his prive seal to do make letters under the same seal after the tenures above written.

"Present, my lordys,

"The marquis of Suffolk,

"The treasurer of England,

"And y^e keeper of y^e prive seal.

"*Benet.*"

Among the warrants for the delivery of jewels on the same occasion mention is made of "an ouche garnished with a baleys,¹⁰³ and a saphyr and six perles, bought of Mathew Philip and yeven by us to Sir James Fenys, knt., on New Yeris day;" and of "an ouche of gold, with in the middle a fleur de lys, yeven at the same time to Sir Rogier Fenys, knt., tresorier of our household."¹⁰⁴

Up to the year 1440 there had only existed a manor-house at Herstmonceux, but this was now to give place to the more imposing and majestic edifice which still commands our admiration even in its decay. In the year above named Sir Roger de Fienes obtained the king's license to fortify his manor-house at Herstmonceux, to inclose his manor, and to enlarge the park with six hundred acres,¹⁰⁵ and erected the present Castle at the cost of £3800. He had previously (in the eighth year of Henry VI, A.D. 1430) obtained from Sir John Pelham by the deed (of which a translation is annexed), a release from all feudal services due to the honour of Hastings, fealty only excepted.

"To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present writing may come, John Pelham, knight, wishes health in the Lord. Whereas Roger Ffenys, knight, holds of me the manor of Herstmonceux with all its appurtenances,

¹⁰³ A Balas ruby.

¹⁰⁴ Rym. Fœd. v, 1, 139.

¹⁰⁵ Pat. Roll. 19 Hen. VI, "licentia kernellandi." The park had been already enlarged in 1 Hen. V, 1412, when leave was granted to Sir J. Pelham its feudal lord and others to inclose a road which led through the middle of the park of Herstmonceux. Inq. ad quod damnum, 1 Hen. V.

by homage, fealty, suit of court, castle guard, and other services; know ye that I the aforesaid John have, to the aforesaid Roger his heirs and assigns, remitted, released, and altogether for myself and my heirs for ever, quit-claimed, all the right and claim which I have in all the aforesaid services, and in all other services with all their appurtenances, in any way arising from the manor aforesaid, fealty only excepted. And moreover I the aforesaid John, and my heirs will warrant by these presents all the aforesaid services with all their appurtenances, fealty only excepted, to the aforesaid Roger, his heirs and assigns, against all persons for ever. Sealed with my seal and given this 20th day of April, in the 8th year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth."

With the seal of Sir John Pelham appended.

The preceding deed releases Sir Roger Fienes *personally* from the feudal services due from him; that which follows, dated May 8th, 1409, releases *the manor* from the same burdens.

"To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present writing may come, Sir John Pelham wisheth health in the Lord. Whereas William Prestewyk,¹⁰⁶ clerk, William Uvedale, John Bamburgh, William Sydeney, Adam Iwode,¹⁰⁷ William Burgoyne, and Thomas Bayden, senior, hold of me the manor of Herstmonceux with its appurtenances, by homage, fealty, suit of court, at the court of the Rape of Hastings called *le lathe*, and by other services, whereas also the aforesaid William, &c., have paid for the manor aforesaid for castle guard of the castle of Hastings, 7s. 6d., every four months of the year; know ye that I the aforesaid John Pelham have remitted, released, and altogether for me and my heirs for ever, quitclaimed to the aforesaid William, &c., their heirs and assigns all the right, and claim which I have in the manor aforesaid or any part of it, and also in the rents and services aforesaid, fealty to me and my heirs alone excepted, &c. &c. &c.

"In witness whereof I have affixed my seal to the present writing.

"Given on the 28th day of May, the 10th year of King Henry VI."

The next deed (for which as well as the two preceding I am indebted to the courtesy of J. Philips, Esq. of Hastings) is a confirmation of the same immunities granted by Sir Thomas Hoo, to whom Sir J. Pelham had transferred the honour of Hastings, dated Dec. 5th, 1445.

"To all whom, &c., Sir Thomas Hoo wisheth health in the Lord. Whereas Sir Roger Ffenys has, and holds the manor of Herstmonceux with all its appurtenances, in the county of Sussex, of me, the aforesaid Thomas, and of

¹⁰⁶ William Prestwick, clerk, was dean of the free chapel within the castle of Hastings. He died in 1436, and lies buried under the beautiful brass (figured *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II, p. 307) in Warbleton Church.

¹⁰⁷ The name of Adam Iwood occurs frequently in deeds and commissions of this period. A farm in Warbleton still bears the name.

the lordship, and honour of Hastings in the same county, by homage, fealty, and certain other services; know ye that I the aforesaid Thomas have by these presents, ratified, approved and for me and my heirs confirmed, to the aforesaid Roger, his heirs and assigns, the state, title, and possession of the aforesaid Roger of and in the manor of Herstmonceux aforesaid, to have and to hold of me and my heirs of the said lordship and honour, by fealty only, for all services, exactions, burdens, and demands, &c. &c. Know ye also that I, the aforesaid Thomas, have given, and granted, to the said Roger, the hundred of Foxearl¹⁰⁸ and the view of frankpledge, with all fines, penalties, and amercements forfeited or adjudged, or assessed in the court of the aforesaid hundred of Foxearl and the aforesaid view of frankpledge, together with the chattels called 'wayf and stray' found within the hundred aforesaid &c. &c.

"In testimony of which I, the aforesaid Thomas, have affixed my seal and coat of arms to one copy of this indenture, remaining with the aforesaid Roger, and the aforesaid Roger has affixed his seal and coat of arms to the other part of the same writing, remaining with me.

"Witnesses, Sir Thomas Lewknor, Thomas Echingham, Richard Dalingrigge, Edward Sackville, Richard Wakehurst, Adam Iwood, and John Bolney.¹⁰⁹

"Given the 5th day of December, the 24th year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth."

Seal of Sir Roger Fenys.

Sir Roger Fienes married Elizabeth Holland, of Northamptonshire, whose arms (azure semée of fleur-de-lis) existed in painted glass in the east window of the Chapel of the Castle.

On his death, which happened between 1444 and 1455, he was succeeded by his son Richard, who was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in the year 1452, and afterwards chamberlain to the queen of Edward IV. He married Joan, the daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Dacre, and was, in her right, summoned to parliament, and declared Baron Dacre in the year 1458. In 1473 he was made Constable of the Tower, and in 1475 one of the king's council; and died in the year 1484, leaving his grandson, Thomas, a boy of twelve years

¹⁰⁸ Foxearl hundred (in Domesday *Folcarle*) includes "Herstmonceux, Wartling, and Ashburnham wholly, and part of Warbleton, Dallington, and Hailsham, as the tythings do lie; viz., the tythings of Herstmonceux, Dyll, Ashburnham, Wartling, four principal head-boroughs, and also a petty borough of Cobbyche [*i. e.* Cowbeach, a detached hamlet of Herstmonceux to the north], and a bayly of Boram." (MSS. Burrell.)

¹⁰⁹ Sir Thos. Lewknor was of Warbleton; where his arms remain in a window of the parish-church. Rich. Dalingrigge was of Bodiam Castle; Edw. Sackville was ancestor of the duke of Dorset; Rich. Wakehurst was of Wakehurst in the parish of Ardingly; Thos. Echingham and John Bolney took their names from their parishes.

old, his heir. By his will, dated Sept. 20th, 1483, he directed his executors to "send his grandson to school, and provide with all necessaries suitable to his rank." He also commanded that "four priests should be provided, who should sing masses, in the church of Horstemoncieux, for three years after his decease, for his own soul and the souls of his ancestors and all faithful people."

His wife, Joan Dacre, survived him, and died in the year 1486. By her will, dated Oct. 13th, 1485, and proved June 14th, in the following year, she bequeathed:—

"My body to be buried in the quire of All Saints, at Hurstmonceaux, between the high altar and the tomb of Sir Richard Fynes, knight, my late husband; to Thomas, son of Sir John Fynes, knight, to Edward Fynes, brother of the said Thomas, to Elizabeth Lady Clinton and Thomas Fynes, my son and daughter, all my chattels; and I appoint my sons, Thomas and William Fynes, and Thomas Oxenbridge, my executors."¹¹⁰

The descendants of Joan and her husband were called the Lords Dacre of the South, to distinguish them from the other branch of the same family, the Lords Dacre of the North, the posterity of Sir Humphrey Dacre of Gillesland, her uncle, on whom the male feifs of the family had devolved.

Thomas, the second Lord Dacre of the South, served in arms against the Cornishmen, in 1492, and in the following year was Constable of Calais. On the 17th of December, 1508, he was one of the witnesses present in the great chamber in the palace of Richmond, when the espousals were contracted between the Archduke Charles and the Lady Mary, daughter of King Henry VII. Fourteen years afterwards (May 27th, 1522) he was one appointed to give attendance on the king at Eaylesbury, on the coming of the emperor, with Sir Thos. West and Sir John Hussey.¹¹¹

Soon after this Lord Dacre was for some time a prisoner in the Fleet, on the charge of receiving and harbouring suspected felons, as appears from the following singular document among the Burghley Papers, dated Feb. 7th, 1525.¹¹²

"The Lord Dacres hathe this daye knowledged and con-

¹¹⁰ Nicolas' Test. Vetust., p. 390. ¹¹¹ Rymer, xiii, p. 768. ¹¹² MSS. Lansdowne, i, 43.

fesste the bearinge of 'Theuves, and his remysnes and negligence in ponyshement of them, and also his famylyer and conversaunte beinge with them, knowinge them to have com'ytted felonye and dyvers other his mysdoinges, in manner and forme as ys expressed in his confessyon and submyssyon, subscribed with his owne hande, whereupon he ys com'ytted to y^e keapinge of the warden of the Fleate, and his recognisaunce taken and knowledged the xxxth day of Januarye last past, as well for himself as for his sureties ys decreed by the saide most reverende father to be utterlye voide frustrate and cancelled."

This document may, I think, be considered to throw light on the tragical fate of the next Lord Dacre, the grandson of Lord Thomas, by which the prosperity of the Dacres was so dismally interrupted, since, if such were the grandfather's character, it is hardly probable that the education of the young man, who was left an orphan early, would be such as befitted his rank, while the example set him, and the companions with whom he would be associated in his ancestral castle, would early prepare him to follow the reckless course which terminated in such a terrible catastrophe.

Thomas, Lord Dacre, died in 1534: the provisions of his will (dated Sept. 1, 1531) are of considerable interest to the ecclesiastical antiquary. They are as follows:—

"My body to be buried in the parish church of Hurst Monceaux, on the north side of the high altar. I will that a tomb be there made for placing the sepulchre of our Lord, with all fitting furniture thereto, in honour of the most blessed sacrament. Also, I will, that c^l. be employed towards the lights about the said sepulchre, in wax tapers, of ten pounds weight each, to burn about it. Also, I will, that my funeral be solemnized according to the degree of a baron, and that a tomb be set over my grave, to the end that it may be known where my body resteth. Also, I will, that an honest priest shall sing there for my soul, by the space of seven years, taking annually for his salary, and to find bread, wine, and wax, xii marks sterling."

Proved 1534.¹¹³

¹¹³ Nicolas' Test. Vetust. 653.

In pursuance of the directions of this will, the stately monument which adorns the chancel of the parish church was erected, and which, though it has suffered much from time and the barbarous hand of sacrilege, and the scarcely less barbarous touch of renovation, may justly be styled one of the finest specimens of monumental architecture in the county of Sussex. Beneath its richly-fretted canopy repose the effigies of 'Thomas, Lord Dacre, and his son, Sir 'Thomas Dacre (who preceded his father to the tomb), each clad in complete armour, with the exception of the head which is bare, with their hands raised in an attitude of supplication. Lord Dacre had married Anne, the daughter of Sir Humphry Bouchier, a granddaughter of John, Lord Berners. His son had allied himself to the house of Sutton, having taken to wife Joan, daughter of Edward and sister of John, Lord Dudley.

On the death of his grandfather (A.D. 1534-5), Thomas, the son of the above-named Sir 'Thomas Dacre, inherited the title. This ill-starred youth had barely attained his seventeenth year when he was called to succeed to the honours and responsibilities of one of the oldest baronies in the kingdom; a burden he was little fitted for, either by age or education. The testimony afforded by the paper, printed above, from the Burghley MSS., as to the character of his grandfather's associates, shows us the corrupting nature of the atmosphere which he breathed at Herstmonceux, and the evil influences with which his boyhood was surrounded (dangers rendered all the more formidable from the premature death of both his parents),¹¹⁴ and leaves us less room for surprise at the circumstances which led to his calamitous end.

The first notice we find of young Lord Dacre is on the arrival of Anne of Cleves, in 1540, when he, accompanied by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Mountjoye, headed the stately cavalcade of knights and esquires, "all in coates of velvet, with chaynes of gold," who met their queen-expectant on Rainham Down, on her way from Sittingbourne to Rochester, where so mortifying a reception awaited her from her royal bridegroom.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ The date of his father's death is uncertain, but it was certainly before 1534. His mother's burial is recorded in the parish register as having taken place August 9, 1529.

¹¹⁵ Hollinshed, iii, 811.

The next year saw the premature and cruel termination of this young man's career.

That event, and the circumstances which led to it, are thus related by Hollinshed:—

“There was executed at Saint Thomas Waterings¹¹⁶ three gentlemen, John Mantell, John Frowds, and George Roidon; they died for a murther committed in Sussex, in companie of Thomas Fines, Lord Dacres of the South: the truth whereof was thus. The said Lord Dacres, through the lewd persuasion of some of them, as hath beene reported, meaning to hunt in the parke of Nicholas Pelham, esquire, at Laughton, in the same countie of Sussex, being accompanied with the said Mantell, Frowds, and Roidon, John Cheinie, and Thomas Isleie, gentlemen, Richard Middleton, and John Goldwell, yeomen, passed from his house of Hurstmonseux, the last of Aprill, in the night season, toward the same parke, where they intended so to hunt; and coming unto a place called Pikehaie, in the parish of Hillingleigh,¹¹⁷ they found one John Busbrig, James Busbrig, and Richard Summer standing together; and as it fell out, through quarelling, there insued a fraie betwixt the said Lord Dacres and his companie on the one partie, and the said John and James Busbrig and Richard Summer on the other, insomuch that the said John Busbrig received such hurt, that he died thereof the second of Maie next insuing. Whereupon, as well the said Lord Dacres as those that were there with him, and diuerse other likewise that were appointed to go another waie to meet them at the said parke, were indicted of murther; and the seauen and twentieth of June the Lord Dacres himselfe was arreigned before the Lord Audleie of Walden, then lord chancellor, sit-

¹¹⁶ St. Thomas a Waterings was the place of execution for the counties of Surrey and Sussex, situated close to the second mile-stone on the Old Kent Road, and derived its name from a brook dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, at which the pilgrims to his shrine at Canterbury were accustomed to water their horses for the first time:

“And forth we riden a litel more than pas
Unto the watering of Seint Thomas,
And then our host bigan his hors arrest.”

Chaucer—Prologue to Canterbury Tales.

See Manning and Bray, iii, 402. Cunningham, Hand-Book of London.

¹¹⁷ Hellingly, a parish immediately joining Herstmonceux in the West.

ting that daie as high steward of England, with other peeres of the realme about him, who then and there condemned the said Lord Dacres to die for that transgression. And afterward, the nine and twentieth of June, being Saint Peter's daie, at eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, the shiriffs of London, accordinglie as they were appointed, were readie at the tower to haue receiued the said prisoner, and him to haue lead to execution on the Tower hill; but as the prisoner should come forth of the tower, one Heire, a gentleman of the lord chancellor's house, came, and in the king's name commanded to staie the execution till two of the clocke in the afternoone, which caused manie to thinke that the king would haue granted his pardon. But neuerthelesse, at three of the clocke in the same afternoone, he was brought forth of the tower, and deliuered to the shiriffs, who lead him on foot betwixt them unto Tiburne, where he died. His bodi was buried in the church of Saint Sepulchers. He was not past foure and twentie yeeres of age, when he came through this great mishap to his end, for whome manie sore lamented, and likewise for the other three gentlemen, Mantell, Frowds, and Roidon. But for the said yoong lord, being a right towardlie gentleman, and such a one as manie had conceiued great hope of better prooffe, no small mone and lamentation was made; the more indeed, for that it was thought he was induced to attempt such follie, which occasioned his death, by some light heads that were then about him."¹¹⁸

Archdeacon Hare remarks: "It is impossible to make out from this account what was the extent of Lord Dacre's

¹¹⁸ Mr. Hayley says (MSS., i, 743), "This case is carefully recorded in all the report-books, ancient and modern, and has ever since been referred to in the courts of justice, as a notable precedent. The truth might perhaps be that he was so far persuaded to take the thing upon himself as to say, 'that he first proposed and induced his friends to go on that party;' which declaration might have been made an ill use of with the king; and putting the matter in this light may reconcile the seeming disagreement between the historians and the lawyers in their relation of this affair. According to Stow, these poaching frolics, for they hardly merit a severer name, were by no means unfrequent at that period. He says, in his Annals, under the year 1526, 'In the month of May was proclamation made against all unlawful games, &c.: in all places tables, dice, cards, and bowls were taken and brent; and when young men were restrained of these games and pastimes, some fell to drinking, some to ferretting of other men's conies, *and stealing of deer in parks*, and other unthriftness.'" It is hardly necessary to refer to Shakspeare's feat in the park of Sir Thomas Lucy, which will have ere this occurred to the reader's mind.

criminality. The law appears to have been strained,¹¹⁹ in order to convert him into an accomplice; and the manner in which the execution was precipitated inclines one to suspect that there must have been foul play, and to give ear to Camden's statement, that 'his great estate, which the greedy courtiers gaped after, caused them to hasten his destruction.'¹²⁰ In that age of legal crimes, when Tarquin's policy of cutting off the tallest poppies seemed almost to be the order of the day, an execution, being so frail a proof of guilt, hardly brought shame; and that of so young a man as Lord Dacre, when so many persons of greater eminence were laying their heads on the block,¹²¹ attracted little notice. Possibly it may attract more now, as it has been made the subject of a tragedy within the last few years by a popular writer,¹²² every other subject being exhausted."

This unfortunate young man was buried in the church of St. Sepulchre, by Newgate, where the bodies of many of those who suffered at Tyburn were interred. He had married a daughter of Lord Abergavenny, and left two sons, Thomas¹²³ (who died at the age of fourteen or fifteen, in the first year of Mary's reign, A.D. 1553) and Gregory, and a daughter Margaret, who were restored in blood and honours by Act of Parliament in the first year of Elizabeth, A.D. 1558. His family had not been deprived of their paternal estates, which were saved from forfeiture by the strictness of the entails made by his great-grandfather. Gregory, whose baptism on the 5th of June, 1539, is one of the first entries in the parish register, was with Lord Lincoln on his embassy to France in 1571, and died without issue in 1593;¹²⁴ when his sister

¹¹⁹ Yet Sir M. Hale, in his 'Pleas of the Crown,' refers to this case as an unquestioned precedent.

¹²⁰ Camden, *Eliz.* 1594.

¹²¹ Weever (*Funeral Monuments*, p. 436), speaking of this transaction, remarks: "This happened in that bloudie year when Henry the Eight unsheathed his sword upon the neckes of the nobilitie."

¹²² Mrs. Gore.

¹²³ "Thomas Fynes, Lord Dacre of South," appears as a royal ward, 6 Edw. VI, Chapter House Surveys.

¹²⁴ Gregory, Lord Dacre, married Anne, sister of Thomas Lord Buckhurst, who inherited a large amount of her husband's property (probably all that was not entailed), and on her death bequeathed a considerable sum to found a hospital in Tothill-fields, Westminster

Margaret, who was married to Sampson Lennard, Esq., of Chevening in Kent, inherited his estates,¹²⁵ and was recognised as Baroness Dacre by a commission in 1604.¹²⁶ This Sampson Lennard, who is mentioned with much regard by Camden in his 'Britannia,' as a person of great worth and politeness, and the Lady Dacre his wife, lived much at Herstmonceux, where they were remarkable for their noble house-keeping and splendid hospitality; they embellished the castle with costly chimney-pieces, ornamented, according to the fashion of the times, with their armorial bearings, and erected the grand staircase. They had seven sons and six daughters, and are buried in Chevening church, under a noble monument, on which are both their effigies in full size, with their children kneeling round.¹²⁷

The eldest son, Sir Henry Lennard, who accompanied the Earl of Essex on his short but brilliant Spanish campaign, and was knighted at the taking of Cadiz in 1596, became Lord Dacre on the death of his mother in 1611; but only outlived her five years, and was succeeded in 1616 by his son Richard, who rebuilt his seat at Chevening,¹²⁸ from a design, as it is said, of Inigo Jones, but showing very little of the skill of this great restorer of classical architecture: he died at Herstmonceux, Aug. 18, 1630, and his burial is registered on the 21st of the same month. In his last will he is said to show "much good sense and religion, great tenderness for his children, care for their education, and affection for his wife."¹²⁹

(still known as Lady Dacre's almshouses), which was in progress of erection when Stow wrote in 1598. (Stow's Survey, p. 176.) Her will, dated Dec. 20, 1594, and the instruments of conveyance to her executors, are to be found, MSS. Lansd. 77, Nos. 29, 30.

¹²⁵ See Burghley Papers, MSS. Lansdowne, 106, 41, 42.

¹²⁶ Her claims had already been referred to Lords Burghley and Howard, who reported in favour of them; but the matter was suspended by the death of Queen Elizabeth. See Collins's 'Proceedings,' in which the whole case is reported with great minuteness.

¹²⁷ Very good plates of the Lennard tombs are found in Hasted's 'Kent,' vol. i, p. 360.

¹²⁸ There are views and plans of the house in Hasted's 'Kent,' and Colin Campbell's 'Vitruvius Britannicus.' It is a heavy square block of unadorned masonry. It was sold, with the estate, to General Stanhope, in 1717, and is now the seat of Lord Mahon, to whose able presidency the Society of Antiquaries is so much indebted.

¹²⁹ Collins's Peerage, vol. vi, p. 383.

His eldest son, Francis, was a minor at his father's death. During the miserable dissensions between Charles I and the parliament, which filled England for so many years with confusion and bloodshed, he espoused the cause of the latter party, and it is plain, from the offices of trust assigned to him, that he was regarded by them as a person of considerable weight and influence. In 1641 he was recommended by the parliament as curator or lieutenant of Herefordshire; and in 1646 was appointed one of the commissioners for the preservation of peace between England and Scotland;¹³⁰ but when he found into what excesses his party was running, and the dangerous hands in which power was being vested, after many ineffectual attempts to resist their anarchical measures, he withdrew, and, together with several other peers, absented himself from the House of Lords, at which, we may gather from the following letter extracted from the 'Lords' Journals,' he had previously been a punctual attendant.

Writing from his castle at Herstmonceux, Jan. 22, 1643, to Lord Grey of Werke, the deputy-speaker of the House, he says—

“ On Wednesday night last I received your lordship's of the ninth of this month, and would have most gladly obeyed the commands of the House of Peers, by coming presently away to wait on the affairs of the kingdom on the 22nd, had not the ways ever since been so extremely clogged by a very deep snow, that men pass not without much difficulty and danger: I beseech your lordship to add to this reason the weakness of my own health, not being able to endure the rigour of the journeying on horseback in such exceeding cold weather, as now it is; and to represent this to their lordships' favourable constructions; not that I intend to make long use of any way to excuse myself from that duty, which I shall ever owe to the commonwealth, but very shortly shall give my attendance on their lordships with all willingness and readiness. And so I rest

“ Your lordship's

“ Most humble servant,

“ FRANCIS DACRE.”

¹³⁰ Thurlow, State Papers, i, 79.

When the ordinance for the trial of Charles I was about to be brought into the house, and all the absent peers were summoned to attend on the twenty-eighth of December, he was prevented by sickness from obeying the summons immediately; but on the second of January 1648, when the bill was brought up from the lower House, ordaining that "a high court of justice for the trial of the king be erected," Lord Dacre was in his place to give his voice against it, forming one of the small but noble band of peers who had the courage to come forward in that emergency in defence of their sovereign; an act of loyalty which was so much resented, that Sir James Harrington and others were most vehement in their demand that the twelve lords should be impeached "as favourers of the grand delinquent of England, and enemies to public justice and the liberty of the people."¹³¹

He lived to see the restoration of Charles II, and on the failure of the male line of the Lord Dacres of the North, obtained possession of several lordships of great value in Cumberland and Westmoreland. He died in 1662, and was buried at Chevening; his wife, the daughter and co-heir of Paul, Lord Bayning, survived him, and in 1680 was created countess of Sheppey.

His son Thomas, Lord Dacre, was the last descendant of the ancient families of Herst and Monceux who possessed the castle and manor which still bears their name. The cause of the alienation of this ancient property were his own extravagance and heavy losses at play, which rendered it necessary for him to part with some of his estates, to retrieve his broken fortunes. He had the misfortune to come very young to the dissipated court of Charles II, with whom he was brought into familiar intercourse by his appointment as lord of the bed-chamber, and received the very questionable honour of king's son-in-law, through his marriage with the Lady Ann Palmer, alias Fitzroy, daughter of the duchess of Cleveland. With her he obtained a dowry of £20,000, and in 1674, was created earl of Sussex, a title which died with him. A very considerable sum must have been expended by him in the alteration, and as it was then doubtless considered the improvement, of Herstmonceux Castle; for it was by him that

¹³¹ Parl. Hist. iii, p. 1255. Lords' Journals, 1648, p. 639.

in the principal apartments on the east side of the Castle, the narrow casements were enlarged into wide sash-windows, and dark oak wainscots, enriched with carvings by Gibbons, substituted for the original tapestry.

It was in 1708 that the estate of Herstmonceux for the first time exchanged owners by purchase.¹³² The new possessor was Mr. George Naylor, of Lincoln's Inn (called by Sir W. Burrell "Councillor Naylor"), who paid £38,215 for the whole estate, castle and manor. Mr. Naylor married Grace, daughter of the first Lord Pelham, and sister of the Duke of Newcastle, who died in 1710, leaving one daughter, Grace, who died, unmarried, in 1727. The heir of Mr. Naylor's estates was Francis Naylor, the son of his sister Bethia, who had married Dr. Francis Hare, of King's College, Cambridge,¹³³ successively chaplain to the forces under the Duke of Marlborough,¹³⁴ chaplain to Queen Anne, Fellow of Eton, canon of St. Paul's, and rector of Barnes; dean of Worcester, 1715; dean of St. Paul's, 1726; bishop of St. Asaph, 1727; and finally bishop of Chichester, 1731, which see he held till 1740, when he died at Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks (where he had purchased an estate called the Vach), and was buried in the parish church. Bishop Hare is described by a contemporary (the Rev. Wm. Cole)¹³⁵ as "a man of sharp and piercing wit, of great

¹³² Lord Sussex preserved his estate at Chevening, where he resided till his death, in 1715. Collins says (*Peerage*, vi, p. 385), "As the first part of his life was spent in the gaieties and bustle of a court, the latter part of it was dedicated to retirement, living almost entirely at his house in Kent, in which county he always preserved a great interest and influence, and was much beloved by the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, on account of that sweetness of temper and affability for which he was ever most remarkable. He was one of the lords who, upon James the Second's first quitting Whitehall, signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange to take the conduct of the state."

¹³³ Bishop Hare filled the office of tutor of his college for some years, and in that capacity had under his charge the Marquis of Blandford, the eldest son of the Duke of Marlborough, who died of smallpox in 1702, and was buried in Provost Haconbleyn's chantry in King's chapel, beneath a cumbrous mass of marble, inscribed with a laudatory epitaph from his tutor's pen. The famous Antony Collins was also among his pupils, on which account he was complimented by Wolston, and became an object of unjust suspicion to the so-called orthodox party.

¹³⁴ His journal of Marlborough's Campaigns in 1704-5 is among Archdeacon Coxe's papers, MSS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 9114.

¹³⁵ Copious materials for a biography of this prelate are found in the voluminous MS. collections of this indefatigable antiquary, and, truth obliges us to add, unscrupulous scandal-monger, especially vol. xvi, pp. 95-101. Bishop Hare was too warm and able an

judgment and understanding in worldly matters, and of no less sagacity and penetration in matters of learning, and particularly in criticism." Dr. Parr considered him one of the best Latin scholars of his or any age, and gave it as his opinion, that in his controversy with Bentley on the subject of the metres of Terence, of which author he had published an edition in 1724, he proved himself quite a match for his antagonist in his knowledge of the genius and spirit of the language.¹³⁶ Warburton also had the highest opinion of his critical skill, classing him and Bentley together as "the two greatest critics that ever were in the world."¹³⁷ Bishop Hare was a great encourager of learning; among those whom he aided by his patronage was the learned Jeremiah Markland, who dedicated his edition of Statius to him; and he was the first to introduce Warburton, of whose merits he had the highest estimation, to the notice of the court.¹³⁸ His knowledge of the Hebrew language was considerable; but his attempts to elucidate the Hebrew metres have not met with the approbation of the learned, and his arrangement of the Psalms was ably refuted by Lowth.

Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign (1714) he published, anonymously, a tract entitled 'Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of the Scriptures in the way of private Judgment.' This book was thought to have so evil a tendency in promoting scepticism and a loose and vague way of thinking in religion, that the Convocation judged it right to pass a severe censure upon it. It was, in fact, an exquisite piece of ironical writing, the true bearing of which his opponents were either too dull, or too blinded by prejudice to perceive. Warburton, in his 'Dedication to the Freethinkers,' praised it highly, calling the author "one of the greatest and

advocate of the liberal party both in religion and politics to be any favourite with Cole, who speaks of him as "of a sour and crabbed disposition and behaviour," and states that "the character he bore in the world was of a very learned and ingenious, but at the same time of a very unpolished and rough sort of man."

¹³⁶ At the time of his death he had in preparation an edition of Plautus, the collections, and notes for which are among the Additional MSS. in the Museum, 5171, 2.

¹³⁷ Warburton said, "Good sense is the foundation of criticism; this it is that has made Dr. Bentley and Bishop Hare the two greatest critics that ever were in the world." (Nichols' Lit. Anec. ii, 96.)

¹³⁸ Nichols' Lit. Anec., v, 544.

most successful of your adversaries," and those who have perused it will, I think, agree with Cole, that "a more cutting satire on the blind following of settled rules and received notions was never writ." He was considered one of the best preachers of his day, and as such is immortalized by Pope, 'Dunciad,' iii, 199 :

"Still break the benches, Henly, with that strain,
While Sherlock, Hare, and Gibson preach in vain."

In polemical theology he was a most able and fearless disputant, and entering into the Bangorian controversy, attacked Hoadley with tremendous power.

In political matters he displayed the same ability as in criticism and theology ; and his pen was frequently employed between 1706 and 1712 in vindicating the measures of the Whig administration and the conduct of the war, in opposition to the strictures of Swift and the 'Tory party.

In 1718 he was dismissed from his royal chaplaincy, together with Dr. Sherlock and Dr. Moss, on the strength of party-prejudice ; but on the accession of George II he was restored to the favour of the court, and was appointed Bishop of St. Asaph. Queen Caroline intended to have nominated him to the see of Bath and Wells, but yielded to the remonstrances of the ministry, who alleged "that it would disoblige the whole bench of bishops to have the new consecrated ones let into the best preferments at once."¹³⁹ Nine years later he narrowly missed elevation to the primacy ; for on Archbishop Wake's death, in 1736, Sir Robert Walpole, whose tutor he had been, designed Bishop Hare as his successor ; but a hundred years ago the prime minister's power was not quite so absolute in episcopal appointments as it has since become ; and his wishes were effectually thwarted by Lord Hervey, who used his influence with Queen Caroline to strengthen the prejudices which had grown up in her mind against one who must have been singularly unfitted to play the part of a courtier, and to urge the claims of Potter, bishop of Oxford, who eventually succeeded to the vacant throne.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Nichol's Lit. Anec.

¹⁴⁰ During Archbishop Wake's illness, in 1736, there was a question who should succeed him. Lord Hervey proposed Potter, bishop of Oxford, but "Sir Robert (Walpole) seemed much more inclined to take Hare, provided he could get the queen to accept of

By his first wife Bishop Hare had only one son, Francis, whom, as his fellow-collegian Cole informs us, he brought up in a severe manner, making him speak Greek as his ordinary language with him in the family. Late in life the bishop married, as a second wife, the daughter of Colonel Alston, of Suffolk, to whose younger sister his son was engaged, though his father prevented the marriage taking place during his lifetime.

The bishop resided for some considerable time at Herstmonceux Castle, but his son Francis Naylor, who was a man of fashion (commemorated, I believe, in 'Chrysal, or the Adventures of a Guinea'), entirely neglected his venerable mansion, residing, when out of town, with his brother-in-law, Mr. Soame, at Thurlow in Suffolk;¹⁴¹ so that when upon his death in 1775, it devolved upon his half-brother, the Rev. Robert Hare, the bishop's son by his second marriage, the whole building was in such a state of decay, that the expenditure of a very considerable sum was required to put it into habitable repair. The building was surveyed by Mr. Samuel Wyatt (a name which awakens anything but kindly feelings in the mind of the architectural antiquary) in 1777, and pronounced by him to be so dilapidated, that it was judged expedient to demolish the interior of the castle, and employ the materials in building new rooms to the mansion-house on the west side of the park. His advice was unhappily followed; the new house, for such in point of fact it became, was erected with the spoils of Roger Fienes' venerable

him. Hare having been his tutor at the university, gave Sir Robert some prejudices for him; and the good correspondence in which he had lived with him ever since made his vanity, I believe, more inclined to Hare than Potter, as the promotion in that case would be more marked out to have been made solely by his influence. Lord Hervey told him, 'You will certainly repent of it if you take Hare. He is a haughty, hard-natured, imperious, hot-headed, injudicious fellow, who, I firmly believe, would give you more trouble at Lambeth than even Sherlock himself; and besides that, is so thoroughly disliked in private and feared in public life, that I do not think you could lodge power in more unpopular hands.' This did not weaken Sir Robert's bias towards him; but Lord Hervey's constantly talking to the queen in this strain, strengthened the natural bias she had against him; and his lordship never lost any opportunity of doing Potter as many good offices as he did ill ones to Hare, and as all he said on these two subjects had the groundwork of her own inclination, it made an impression which, without that aid, would have sunk less deep, and been much easier effaced." (Lord Hervey's Memoirs, ii, 110.)

¹⁴¹ Cole, xxviii, 161.

mansion. However much we may find to commend in the arrangements of the modern house, and in the beautiful proportions of the apartments, which were so courteously thrown open to our Society by the kindness of our valued member, the proprietor of the estate; we shall all, I think, agree that Mr. Wyatt's raw white stucco is but a poor substitute for Roger Fienes' mellow red brick, and mourn over the destruction of so magnificent a pile, as indeed a national loss, the more to be lamented, as it is utterly irreparable.

Francis Hare Naylor, Esq.,¹⁴² the son of the Rev. Robert Hare, sold the estate to Thomas Reed Kemp, Esq., in 1807; and in 1819 the trustees of the late John Gillon, Esq., purchased it for his nephew, the late John Gillon, Esq., M.P., who, in 1846, sold it to the late Herbert Barrett Curteis, Esq., M.P., father of Herbert Mascall Curteis, Esq., M.P. for Rye, the present proprietor.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CASTLE.

Having now completed the history of the Manor of Herstmonceux and its Lords, and traced its descent through its successive possessors from the reign of Edward the Confessor to that of Victoria, it remains that I should furnish some account of the architectural character of the noble Castle whose ruins still attest the skill of its designer, as well as the magnificence of the noble family of which it was for more than three centuries the principal seat. In this division of my work it will be my endeavour not merely to describe the building as it at present exists, but also to set before my readers its appearance and arrangement previous to the destruction of its interior in 1777, when this noble building, almost unrivalled among the existing specimens of our domestic architecture, fell a victim to female caprice, and the false taste of an age blind to the merits of our mediæval structures, and was reduced to a bare and shattered shell.

¹⁴² Author of the 'History of the Helvetic Republics,' the 'History of Germany during the Thirty Years' War,' &c.

There is something melancholy at all times in the aspect of a ruined building, especially one formerly boasting of great architectural magnificence; feelings of regret and sorrow for so much lost splendour naturally rise in our minds, even when the ruin has been gradually effected by the corroding tooth of time, and the progress of natural decay; but our emotions are more powerful, and partake of the nature of indignation, if, as at Herstmonceux, the devastation we deplore prove to have been wanton, the result of violence rudely destroying that which would have otherwise remained unimpaired to our own time, for us to hand down to future generations. Less than seventy years ago Herstmonceux Castle displayed one of the most perfect and interesting examples of our domestic architecture. Built at a time when, though the means of defence were not neglected, greater consideration was paid to the comfort of the inhabitants, it formed a most important link between the fortified castle and the palatial manor-house; partaking alike of the characteristic features of each, but perfectly corresponding with neither type, it occupied a position of great architectural importance, which no existing building adequately fills up. But bitter as must be our regret at the destruction of so noble and remarkable a building, we may feel thankful that it was not total. The outside walls remain almost complete, and have suffered but little except in the loss of some portions of the battlement, so that we are able to form nearly as good an idea of the external aspect of the Castle as if we had seen it before the hand of the spoiler was laid upon it; and though that which has been preserved to us is scarcely more than a shell, and of the interior little exists beyond broken walls and a mass of irretrievable ruin, we are fortunate in possessing accurate representations of almost every portion of the building, enabling us to understand the form and distribution of the whole with nearly as much accuracy as if it were still existing.

The views published in Grose's 'Antiquities' and Buck's 'Ancient Castles,' are well known to every antiquary, and a still more complete series of coloured drawings was taken by Lambert in 1777, copies of which, executed by the late Mrs. Hare Naylor, were exhibited by Archdeacon Hare at the Herstmonceux meeting. Several of these, illustrating the

principal features of the building, have been engraved on wood, and will be found illustrating the subsequent pages of this memoir.¹⁴³

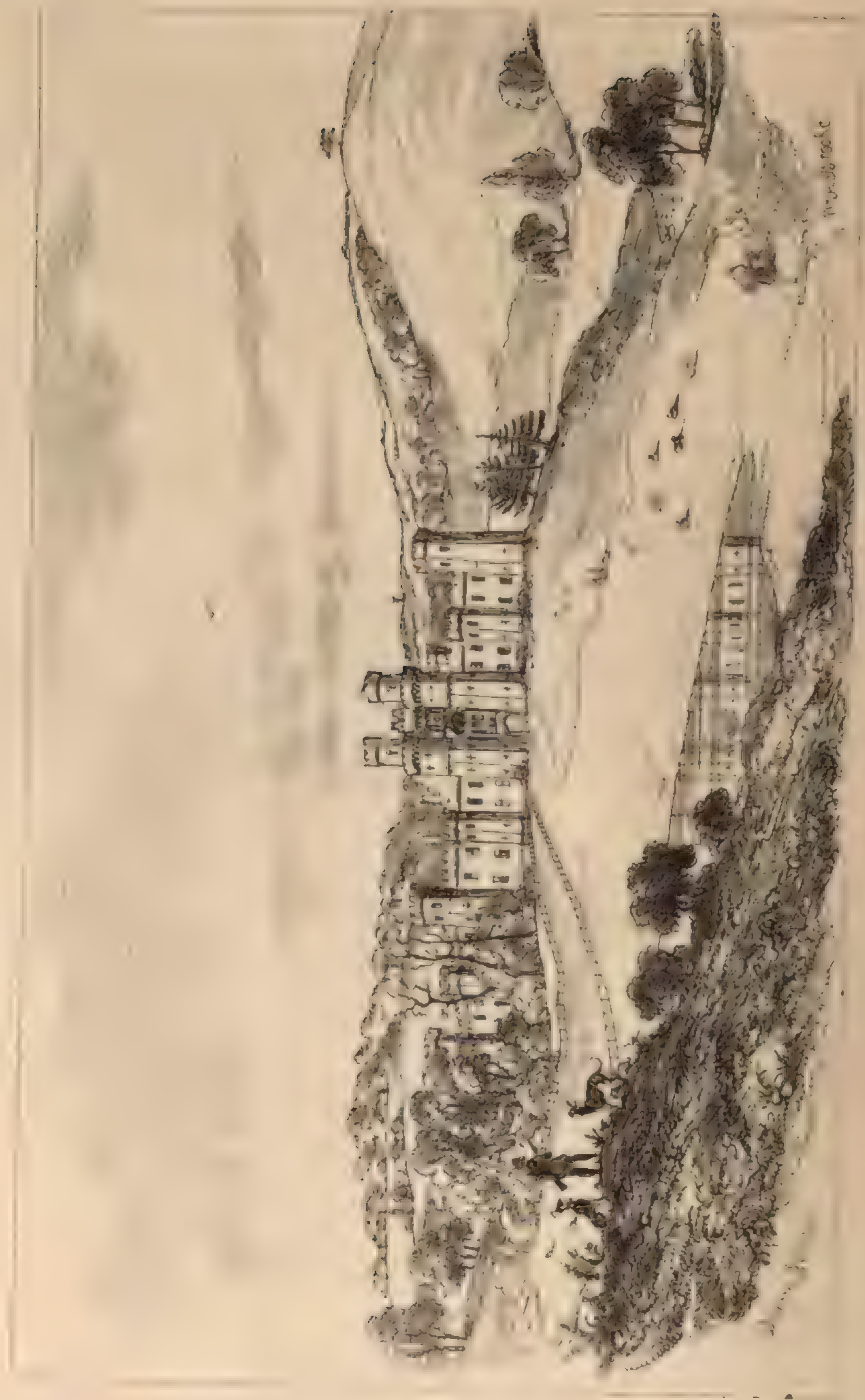
Herstmonceux Castle stands in a very low situation, towards the southern extremity of a valley, sheltered on the east and west by hills originally covered with magnificent timber, and still preserving some remains of their wood. The valley is watered by a small rivulet, of which advantage was taken to supply the moat, as well as a chain of ponds and stews, once replenished with abundance of fish. Some of these ponds, as well as the moat, are now dry, and form dank marshy pastures. The moat, which spread out into a large pool towards the east, was drained early in Elizabeth's reign for greater salubrity, and was formed into a garden abounding in fruit-trees, and adorned with arbours and pleached allies, all now involved in the general ruin. "The building," in the language of Horace Walpole "for convenience of water to the moat, sees nothing at all;" indeed beauty or even healthfulness of situation seems to have been entirely left out of consideration by the builder of the Castle, a circumstance the more to be regretted, as its low and gloomy position doubtless tended to alienate the affections of its possessor, and so to accelerate its ruin.

The material of which the Castle is built is brick; and Herstmonceux has long been celebrated as one of the earliest edifices of any extent in this country erected entirely in this, which has now become the national mode.¹⁴⁴ Bp. Littleton, in his Essay on "*The Antiquity of Brick Buildings in England since the time of the Romans*," in the first volume of the '*Archæologia*,'¹⁴⁵ states that he can find no evidence of brick being employed in building from the reign of Richard II, when De La Pole's house was built with brick at Kingston-on-Hull, till the erection of Herstmonceux Castle in 1440;

¹⁴³ Pugin's '*Second Series of Specimens of Gothic Architecture*' contains accurate elevations and details of the south front, accompanied by an admirable descriptive memoir by Mr. Willson of Lincoln, to which I must acknowledge myself much indebted.

¹⁴⁴ The earliest building known to exist in this country built with bricks resembling the modern or Flemish brick is Little Wenham Hall, in Suffolk, which is about the date 1260. (*Glossary of Architecture*, p. 94.)

¹⁴⁵ *Archæologia*, vol. i, p. 147, A.D. 1757.



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and mentions it as worthy of remark that the art of making brick was then "carried to such perfection, though it should seem to be but in its infancy, that this vast structure (*perhaps the largest house belonging to a subject in the kingdom*, now that Audley End has been in part pulled down,) has stood the brunt of weather for above three [four] centuries, particularly of the salt corroding vapours arising from the sea, to which it is greatly exposed, without suffering the least injury in any part of the walls, insomuch that hardly a single brick shows the least mark of decay." The bricks, which were probably the work of Flemings, introduced by Sir Roger Fienes, are admirable for their uniformity and firmness of texture, and the walls, where uninjured by violence, remain as in the time of Grose, "without a flaw or crack." The only stone to be found in the building (besides a little rude grouted work in some interior walls, which I am inclined to consider part of the materials of the old manor-house,) is in the window-frames, mouldings, and battlements, the whole of which, I believe, are worked in the greenstone from the shore at Eastbourne.

The Castle was originally approached in several directions by noble avenues: the trees have nearly all perished, but isolated individuals here and there exist, though probably not destined long to resist the violence of the blasts which have uprooted so many of their companions which the axe had spared. The trees which remain are mostly Spanish chestnuts, of which some most picturesque specimens, with long, bare skeleton arms, and trunks singularly twisted, stand on the western side of the moat. Others intermixed with oaks and beeches, for the most part in various stages of decay, are scattered over the undulating surface of the park, which a little judicious planting would in time restore to its former beauty: at present it is a cause of great regret to see so few young trees rising to supply the places of the noble veterans of the forest which have survived the general havoc of 1777.¹⁴⁶

The principal front of the Castle faces the south, looking directly to the sea. It is approached by a somewhat steep

¹⁴⁶ The park is three miles about, the third part thereof lying in lawns, and the residue well set with great timber-trees, most of beech, partly of oak, of fair timber. (MS. Survey A.D. 1570.)

descent, enabling the spectator to take in the whole form and proportions of the building in one uninterrupted view (as represented in the accompanying etching), and to any one accustomed to the picturesque irregularity of our ancient castles, the remarkable degree of uniformity displayed in this, will be at once a matter of observation. The building, as will be perceived from the annexed plans, is a regular parallelogram, measuring $206\frac{1}{2}$ feet from east to west and $214\frac{1}{2}$ feet from north to south, inclosing four open courts. Each angle of the Castle is strengthened by an octagonal embattled tower, rising about 15 feet above the battlements of the main building, and a similar tower occupies the centre of the east and west fronts: a somewhat loftier machicolated tower, now robbed of its battlements, covers the postern-gate in the middle of the north front, and to the south rises the noble gateway tower, flanked by its machicolated turrets rising thirty feet above the side walls, forming a composition which, for its union of majesty and strength, is nearly, if not quite unrivalled. Midway between the angular and the central towers, the uniformity of each front is broken by semi-octagonal embattled projections of the same height as the main building; the southernmost of these, on the east front, forms in its second stage a most graceful oriel window, which gave light to the apartment known as *the Ladies' Bower*. The corresponding projection on the west side contained the vast Oven, twelve feet in diameter. The tower at the north-west angle, still known as the Floodgate tower, contained the reservoir which supplied the whole of the lower part of the Castle with water, conveyed in leaden pipes from a spring in the plantation on the hill-side to the north-east of the Castle, and brought over the moat in troughs of timber. Other pipes (*high-service* pipes, as they would now be called) supplied the upper floor and galleries, with an abundance very unfrequent at so early a period.

The general effect of the building, in its perfect state, as viewed from the south-east, may be seen from the accompanying view, restored from the drawings of Grose and Buck, and corrected by reference to the existing building. It will be seen how much its picturesque effect was increased by the high-pitched roofs, and the forest of tall slender chimneys



HERSTMONCEUX CASTLE,
PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR.

From a Plan in Possession of the Ven^{ble} Archdeacon Hare



with which it was crowned. In the same view will be perceived the low embattled walls with which the moat was guarded, and the chapel turret, rising above the roofs, features which have now, like the chimneys, entirely disappeared.

The south front is that which is usually the first to strike the attention of the visitor, and which will live the longest in his memory ; it is indeed, in the words of Mr. Willson,¹⁴⁷ “ a noble composition, which deserves the attentive study of an architect ; the details being sufficiently ornamental to give an air of richness without impairing the character of boldness and strength proper for a castle.” This may be said with the greatest truth of the gateway tower, which occupies the centre of the front, and from which it derives its principal character. The body of the tower is square, flanked on either side by majestic turrets rising to the height of sixty-seven feet from the level of the moat. These turrets are octagonal for above the first fifty feet of their height, and batter or gradually decrease in diameter ; but when they rise clear of the side walls they are corbelled out, and become cylindrical : an embattled and machicolated cornice, constructed with great boldness and ingenuity, surmounts the turrets, and is continued along the front of the tower between them. The whole height of the gateway, eighty feet, is completed by the slender watch-towers, springing from within the machicolated gallery, and connected with the parapet on the inner face of the tower, by a bold flying buttress, descending in embattled steps to the level of the roof, once covered with a platform of lead. The turrets are pierced with three tiers of cross loop-holes, for the discharge of cross-bows, and one of circular holes, or œillets, commanding the drawbridge, for matchlock guns, which when fired required to be laid nearly level, being supported within on a kind of fork. The main body of the tower is of three stories above the moat ; the two lower are set back in a fine lofty arch, connecting the two side towers, and supporting the uppermost story, which is lighted by two square-headed windows of the common domestic character, each of two lights, with pointed heads and divided by a transom. Between these windows, in a square panel, we

¹⁴⁷ Pugin's Specimens, vol. ii.

may still trace the mutilated badge of the noble builder of the Castle, the alant or wolfdog,¹⁴⁸ holding in his paws a banner charged with three lions rampant. The wall of the two lower stories being recessed, gives room for the construction of a row of openings, pierced through the floor of the upper chamber, and covered by the lofty arch, intended for the annoyance of assailants, by pouring down upon them boiling pitch, or molten lead, as they approached the Castle-gate. Of the two stories within the arch the lower is occupied by the principal entrance, a four-centred archway, characterised by the same dignified simplicity which marks the whole building; over which is a large square-headed transomed window of two foliated lights. On either side of the window two long vertical slits in the brickwork will be noticed, the purpose of which was to receive the levers of the drawbridge (which with the chains suspended from them are represented in Buck's view), when it was required to be raised. Simple as is the character of the windows in this front of the gateway, they are more ornamental than any others in the exterior of the Castle, with the exception of the three in the centre tower on the east front forming the apse of the chapel; the ordinary type being either a long narrow rectangular opening divided by a transom, or, in the domestic apartments, where more light was required, a plain square window with a central mullion and transom. The larger openings to be seen in various parts of the Castle, especially to the north of the chapel tower, are to be assigned to a date long subsequent to the first erection, and are

¹⁴⁸ Alandes, Alants, or Allans (Canes Alani), were names by which any large dogs seem to have been designated. The following quotations are from Boucher's 'Glossary,' the unfinished state of which is a matter of so much regret.

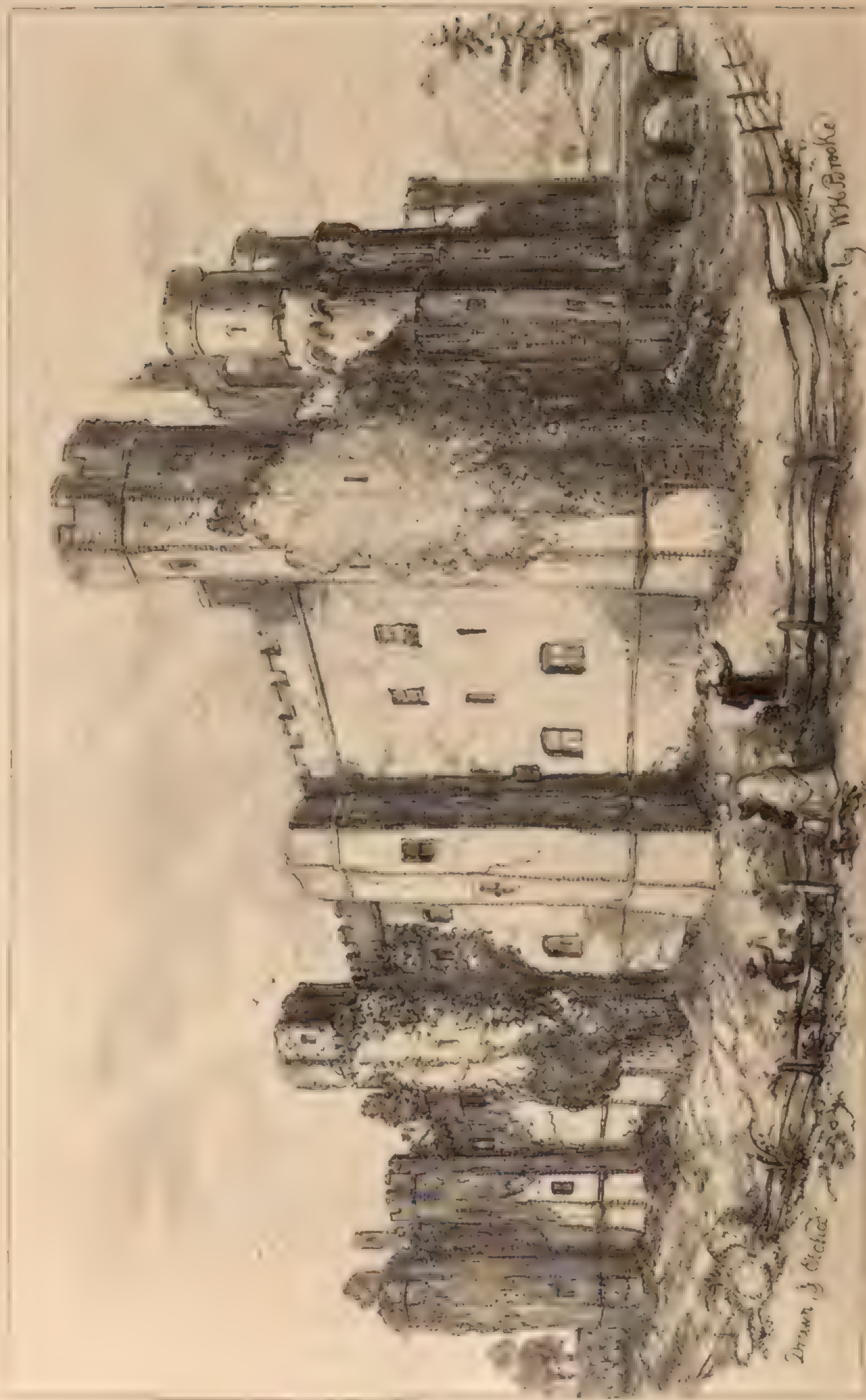
"About his char ther wenten white *alandes*
Twentie and mo, as grete as any sterc,
To huntm at the lyon, or wild bere."

Chaucer's *Knights' Tale*, l. 2150.

In Sir J. Bouchier's translation of Froissart (b. iv, c. 24) are mentioned "four coursers and two allans of Spayn, faire and good." They are also mentioned in *Muratori*, Ant. t. ix, p. 394. "Item canes *alanos* alta statura et mirabilis fortitudinis nutrire studuerant." The name *alans* is still used in Spain for a bloodhound or mastiff.

The word *alant* occurs in the will of John of Gaunt (Royal Wills, p. 157), in the description of a bed bequeathed to his son, afterwards Henry IV. He says that it was "de drap d'or le champ piers overez des arbres d'or et juxte chescun arbre un *alant* blank liez a mesme l'arbre."





St. John's College, Bath, from the N.W.

probably due to the alterations of the young earl of Sussex, who, before his extravagance had compelled him to part with his ancestral mansion, had expended large sums in adapting the principal apartments to the taste of the day, by enlarging the windows and replacing the old creaking casements by modern sashes; an alteration, and, as it was then considered, an improvement effected in almost every old mansion in the kingdom, whose owner was rich enough to do so, the example being set by no less an authority than Sir C. Wren, in the venerable fortress of Windsor.

In the other parts of the exterior there are no features calling for special mention: the utmost plainness seems to have been studied throughout the building, especially in the external works, in which, in a building intended for the purposes of defence, all richness of ornament would have been out of place. The bareness of the walls is now partly concealed, and its uniformity relieved by a rich tapestry of ivy, though within the last few years much of that which decorated the walls has been destroyed, to the great regret of every lover of the picturesque, though the architect may see reason to commend an act of devastation which has brought to light several features of great interest, which had previously been concealed.

We will now invite our readers to accompany us to the interior of the Castle, and passing over the frail planks which do the duty of the ancient drawbridge, and entering through the wicket-gate (by the side of which, in former times, a well-accredited local tradition informs us, was always to be found a leathern black-jack, well replenished with ale), bid them stand with us in what was formerly the porter's lodge, and gaze with sorrow and indignation on the sad scene of devastation opening before them. A few shattered walls, the first few steps of a winding-stair, a broken arch or two, and here and there a swelling mound or ridge speaking of the foundation of a buttress or wall hidden beneath the verdant sod, which has spread over the whole area; such is all that now remains of that which only sixty-four years ago was the most perfect example of the mansion of a feudal lord in the south of England. But much as we may find to regret, there still

remains much to admire, for in the words of Archdeacon Hare, "since the demolition of the interior, Nature,

‘Softening and concealing,
And busy with a hand of healing,’

has been adorning it with ivy, which has formed beautiful thick masses around the walls and turrets. Persons," he continues, "who have visited Rome, on entering the court, and seeing the piles of brickwork strewn about, have been reminded of the Baths of Caracalla, though of course on a miniature scale; the illusion being perhaps fostered by the deep blue of the Sussex sky, which, when compared with that in more northerly parts of England, has almost an Italian character."

The porter's lodge by which we enter the Castle, forms the lower story of the great gateway tower, having immediately above it the room formerly designated the "Drummer's Hall," tradition having marked it out as the principal scene of the pranks of a ghostly drummer, by whom the slumbers of the inhabitants were wont to be disturbed. A recess in the wall on the left hand will be noticed, in which a chest is said to have been discovered, containing treasure to a vast amount, by which the families of a former steward and others were enriched; with this chest the existence of the drummer seems to have been linked, and when the hoard over which, like the gryphon of old, he had been set to watch, had been ransacked, his occupation was gone, and his drum became for ever silenced. In Grose is a view of the porter's lodge in a perfect state, showing us the vaulted roof, the springing of which, with some portion of the vaulting, still remains, as is shown in the etching. The porter's lodge is provided with a fireplace, on the right hand of the entrance, which Mr. Willson remarks as "a very unusual accommodation in such an apartment," and on each side are arched doorways, that in the left leading into the guard-chamber, described by Grose "as a long waste room, like a gallery in old times." Its rude and unfinished character, led him to the supposition that it was "intended for a stable in case the Castle were besieged, and there were need to bring the horses and other cattle into a place of security;"



Drawn & Etched by W. H. Brown

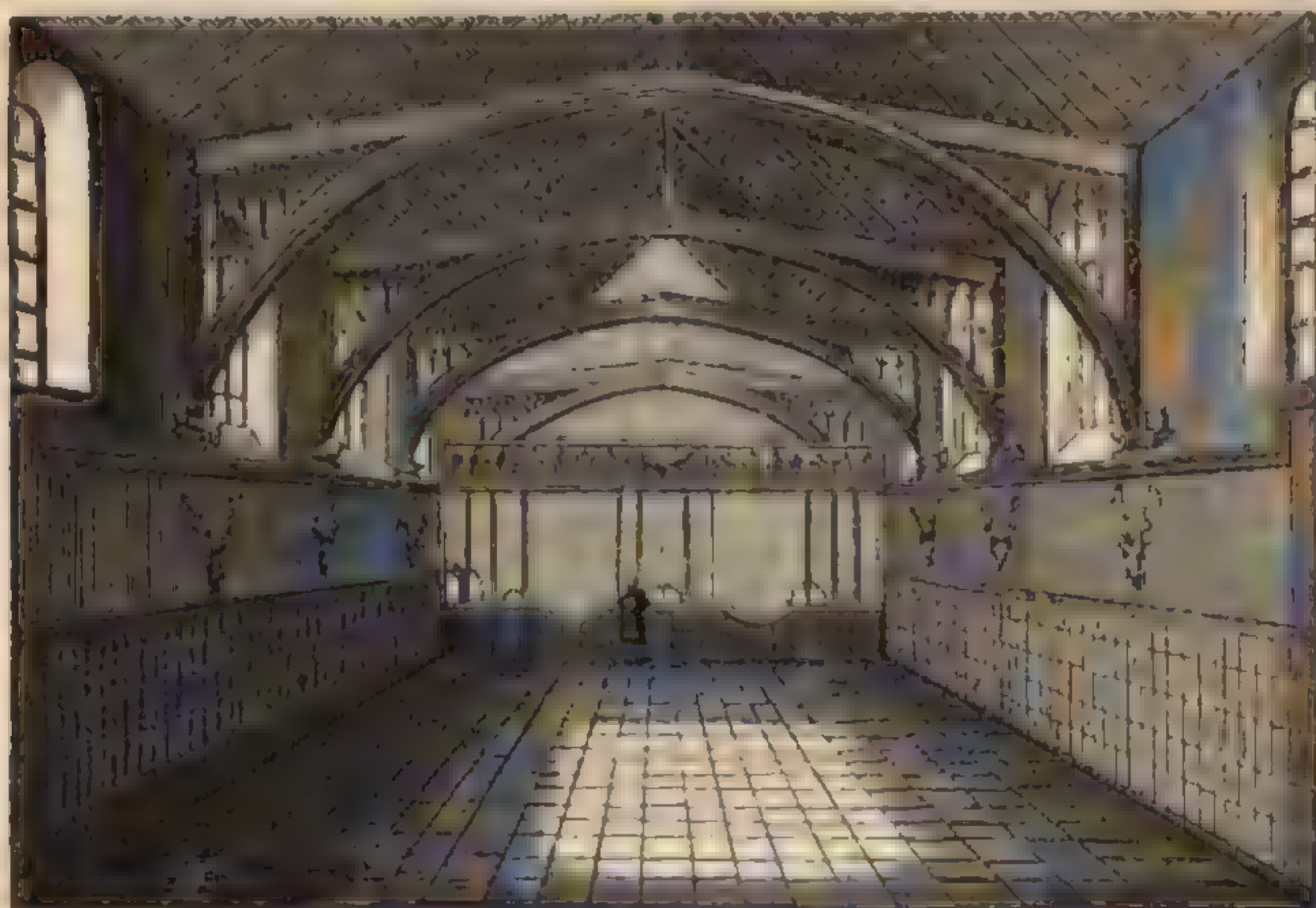
St. John's Church, London
View of the Church from the Street

but it is far more probable that it was simply designed as a guard-room, in which all decoration would have been superfluous, and the furnaces for casting bullets, still to be traced in the south wall, are an evidence of the purpose to which it was devoted. The door to the right of the porter's lodge opens through some narrow passages (in which the arrangement of the closets and the attention paid to drainage and ventilation demand notice) into the shell of the watch-tower, now open from basement to battlement, and whose only sentinels are a crowd of noisy jackdaws, who have long since claimed these ruins as their own undisputed domain. Returning into the lodge, and advancing into the interior of the Castle, we enter the principal court, known as the *Green*, or *Cloister court*. This court, the centre of which is marked by the small holly-tree, was surrounded by an arcade of open arches of brick, of very low curvature, quite plain, and only separated by slender buttresses, running up, as will be seen in the woodcut, and dividing the upper story, above the cloister,



into equal compartments, alternately blank, and containing plain two-light square-headed windows, lighting the galleries, into which the principal apartments opened. Immediately in front, on entering the cloister, was the hall, extending along the north side of the court, at the

eastern end of which rose the chapel tower, containing the clock and bells. The hall was a noble apartment, fifty-four feet long, by twenty-eight broad, and the same in height to the springing of the beams. It was lighted by four two-light square-headed windows, of the ordinary domestic type, and the roof was originally crowned by a louvre for the passage of the smoke rising from the fireplace in the middle of the floor; this had been removed before Lambert's view was taken. The character of the interior is well represented in Grose's plate, from which the annexed woodcut is taken.



The roof was supported on massy beams, forming a flat arch, springing from corbels, carved with the family badge, the alant or wolfdog. The sides were lined with wainscot below the windows, and the west end was screened off for a passage, with a gallery over it for musicians. The arched doors behind the screen led to the butteries and other offices, and the wainscot was ornamented at intervals with stags' heads and antlers. The north wall of the hall remains tolerably perfect, and the false arch of one of the windows, now reduced to a single course of bricks, hangs in a singularly precarious state, and though it would seem as if a single gust of wind would bring it down, so it has hung for very many years. Of the southern wall little more than the foundation exists, and the whole interior of this once lordly room is now overgrown with a tangled mass of briars and thorns.

Passing through the ruins of the hall we enter the Butler's Pantry Court, of which a view is here annexed.



It had a cloister on the north and west sides, of similar character to that in the Green Court, though the dividing buttresses were marked with set-offs, and were of a somewhat different and more graceful outline. On the south it was flanked by the hall; and the embattled gable to the east was that of the great staircase, which was erected in the reign of Elizabeth, after the marriage of Margaret, Baroness Dacre, with Sampson Lennard, when considerable alterations took place in the Castle, with the view of adapting the principal apartments to the style and habits of the period.

A paved passage leads us from this court to the postern gate, communicating by a drawbridge over the moat with the garden and bowling-green behind. At the destruction of the Castle, a few rooms were preserved in this part of it, to form a residence for the gardener; but these, too, have fallen into decay, and the roof, now

“Tottering to a fall,”

adds to the picturesque effect of the general scene of ruin around.

Turning to the right, and leaving the butler's pantry, and other offices to the left, we pass through the remains of the

cloister, and enter the great staircase ; a square of forty feet, on the south wall of which we can still discern the marks of ascending flights of steps, together with some mouldering traces of fresco painting, from which fancy may restore the massy oaken balustrades which guarded the stairs. The ascending flights were at least ten feet wide, and the hollow formed beneath was so considerable that the smugglers who abounded in this neighbourhood in the latter part of the last, and beginning of the present century, frequently employed it as a receptacle for their contraband goods. It is said that when the clue to this hiding-place was at last discovered, and the boards of the staircase were raised, the whole cavity was found filled with tea, and that the quantity was so large that a cart was loaded with that which had been stored up there.

The staircase received light from six large, square-headed windows, divided by stone mullions, and transoms, as represented in the last woodcut ; between these on the principal floor were large mirrors reaching nearly from the floor to the ceiling.

This noble staircase gave access to the numerous galleries which threaded the upper floor. The arrangement and designation of these galleries will be seen from the plan of this floor, which also shows us the distribution of the apartments opening from them. The principal passages of communication were the *White Gallery*, running east and west, and the *Green Gallery*, which, extending southwards from the staircase, formed the east side of the cloister court. This gallery, which took its name from its hangings, described by those who remember them as of green cloth, decorated with numerous paintings, communicated with the state rooms fitted up by the earl of Sussex in the East front, corresponding in size and arrangement with those below. One of these rooms was called the Gilded Bed-chamber, being hung, according to the fashion of the time, with leather stamped and gilt, fragments of which are still in the possession of some of the older parishioners.

The White Gallery formed the approach to the Library, the Private Chapel above the postern gate, and the Lord's and Lady's Apartments—the former consisting of a suite of four rooms in the north front looking on the bowling-green ; the



HERSTMONCEUX CASTLE,
PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR

From a Plan in Possession of the Ven^{ble} Archdeacon Hare

latter of three smaller chambers on the west side of the Castle, from one of which, by means of a window opening into the kitchen below, the mistress could unobserved keep watch over her servants, or superintend the cookery without its being needful for her to descend from her own apartments.

Parallel to the White Gallery to the south, ran the *Armour Gallery*, communicating with the chambers in the same block of building with the hall, between the Pump and Chicken courts.

It has been mentioned that the Green Gallery extended along the east side of the cloister court, the other sides were occupied respectively by the *Yeoman's Gallery* to the south, the *Bethlem Gallery* to the west, and the *Bird Gallery* (which was a mere open walk on the roof of the cloisters, in front of the hall) on the north. From the Yeoman's Gallery opened the chaplain's and yeoman's rooms, as well as the Drummer's Hall; the Bethlem Gallery communicated with the *Bethlem Chambers*, a suite of five small rooms, each provided with a fireplace, which, it would seem probable from an example of a similar designation in Sheen Palace, derived their name from being set apart for the lodging of strangers and wayfarers.

The language of Grose's correspondent when describing this floor is worth quoting, as it is evidently that of an eye-witness. "The bed-chambers on this floor," he says, "are sufficient to lodge a garrison, and one is bewildered in the different galleries which lead to them; in every one of the windows of which is painted in glass the alant or wolfdog, the animal supporters of the family of Fienes. Many winding staircases, curiously constructed in brickwork, without any timber, lead to these galleries." One of these newel staircases still remains perfect to a considerable height, at the north-east angle of the gateway tower; the stump of another, which stood at the north end of the west walk of the cloisters, strikes the eye immediately on entering the court.

Let us now, in imagination, retrace our steps along the galleries, and descend the great staircase, when a few paces towards the east will lead us to the site of the Saloon, and other principal apartments on the ground floor. The saloon, which was forty feet long, and the adjoining rooms, received their first alterations from Margaret, Lady Dacre, and her

husband, Sampson Lennard, in the reign of Elizabeth, who, as has been already mentioned, erected stately chimney-pieces, embellished with the arms of the family and their alliances, and built the grand staircase. These apartments were still further modernized by the Earl of Sussex, in the time of Charles II, when they were sashed and wainscoted, and the panelling adorned with exquisite carvings by Gibbons, which called forth the admiration of Walpole, and even now, in their mutilated state, and most inappropriate position, in the hall of Herstmonceux Place, sufficiently prove the skill of Grinling's magic chisel. Beyond the principal apartments, advancing towards the south, lies the Chapel, which was



entered from the east walk of the Green-court cloister. Walpole speaks disparagingly of it as "small and mean," and the annexed woodcut will show that it was not remarkable for any richness of architectural ornament; but, plain though it was, the effect of the eastern oriel, with its long coupled windows, seen beneath the low arch which carries the turret



Interior of Her Majesty's Prison, East side.

above, must have been so fine as to have deserved higher commendation from one whose taste, much as we may now find to condemn in it, was certainly far in advance of his age. The painted glass with which the windows were decorated, however brilliant in colour, was not particularly good in design, and the same somewhat flippant critic speaks contemptuously of the “seven *long lean saints ill done*,” that remained in the windows. Two smaller windows, lower down in the wall, which will be noticed in the woodcut, appear to have been added, to afford light to the worshippers, for which purpose also it must have been that four of the lights of the east windows were robbed of their stained glass. A square-headed piscina, of the very plainest character, will be noticed on the south side of the apse, and Walpole speaks of “two odd cavities with very small wooden screens on each side,” which he supposes to have been confessionals, but, as these no longer remain, we cannot say how far his conjecture was correct or no. The wainscoting about the altar, and other fittings of the Chapel, seem to have been of the same date with the great staircase: over the west end was a gallery communicating with the upper corridor.

The present state of the Chapel and the side of the Castle adjacent is admirably represented in Mr. Brooke's etching. The windows on the ground-floor lighted the *storeroom*, the *steward's room*, and the *servants' hall*, in the former of which will be noticed an arched recess, with an orifice for carrying off water, far surpassing the piscina in elegance, though probably only serving the purposes of a common sink. The beautiful bay window in the upper story, which forms such a conspicuous ornament in the south-east view of the Castle, gave light to the *Lady's Bower*, which must have been one of the most cheerful and agreeable apartments in the whole building.

Advancing towards the south-east, we have to guard against a somewhat precipitate descent down the staircase leading to the dungeon, which formed the basement of the tower at this angle of the front. A few years since this staircase and the passage beyond were cleared out, but since then it has been permitted to become choked up again, and access to the dungeon is now completely stopped. Gröse's correspondent

describes it as "an octagonal room, in the midst of which is a stone post with a long chain, and in a corner of the room a door into a privy, a commendable," and, we may add, most unusual and merciful, "attention to cleanliness." The upper story of this tower and the rooms adjacent were assigned to the chaplain; its highest portion, as well as that of the tower at the opposite angle of the front were left empty, and the walls pierced with an immense number of square openings, for the accommodation of the countless hosts of pigeons our ancestors used to keep for the purposes of their table, of which they formed one of the chief delicacies.

If we now cross the grassy area of the Castle, and passing the gateway tower, place ourselves midway between it and the exterior wall on the west, we shall be standing in the centre of the *Pump Court*, the second in point of dimensions, but the plainest in architectural character, of the four courts contained within the Castle.



A reference to the ground plan will show that this court was separated from the *Green Court* by a narrow slip of buildings, which it will be seen from the woodcut was divided into three low stories, supported by massive buttresses. The ground-floor of this building (of which the very foundations



Engraving of the Government Building for the U.S.

have disappeared) was devoted to offices, above which, on the upper floor, ran the suite of small bed-rooms, already spoken of, as the *Bethlem-rooms*.

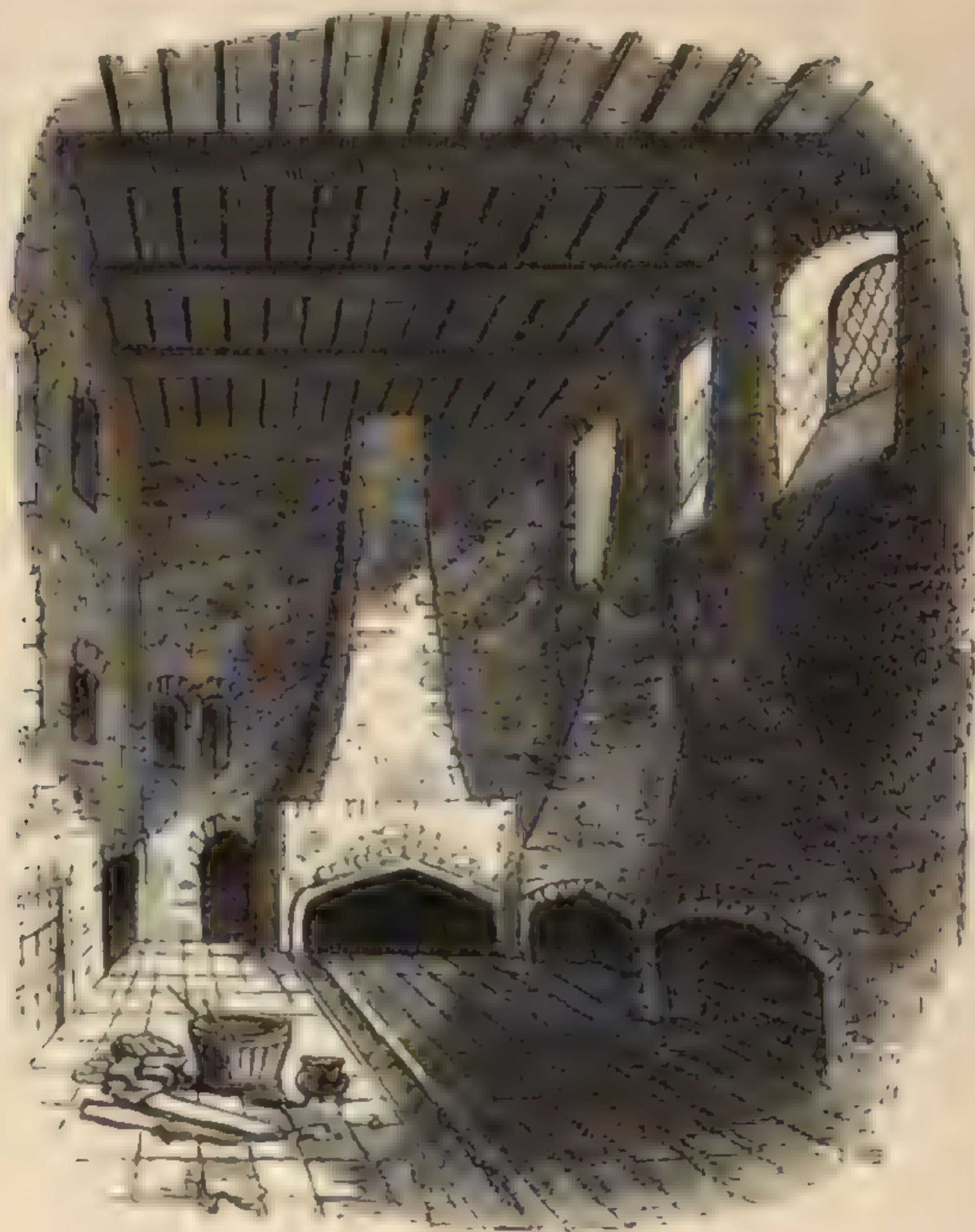
On the south side of this court was the "long waste room" already described under the name of the *Guard Chamber*, above which was a lobby communicating with the apartments on the principal floor; to the west were the *Laundry*, *Brew-house*, and other offices, the whole of this side of the Castle being devoted to domestic purposes.

The central apartment of this front, marked by the octagonal tower, was the *Bakehouse*, communicating on the south with the *Brewhouse*; adjacent to which, in the lower part of the semi-octagonal turret, was the great oven, in former times one of the chief wonders of the Castle, in which, according to local tradition, four and twenty women once sat down to tea. The action of the fire upon the interior of the oven still enables us to trace its situation, and, in part, its dimensions; but its vault and the outer half of its circumference have been completely destroyed. By the side of the oven stood the great brewing copper, imbedded in brickwork and approached by a flight of stairs; each step being formed of the trunk of a tree rudely squared. Above the great oven our attention is attracted by two pendentives of a brick vault (which will be noticed in the accompanying etching), and our curiosity is immediately roused to determine their purpose. Here both the existing ground plans, and the memory of the few old people who still recollect the Castle in its perfect state, are at fault; but I think there can be little doubt that the object of the vault was to condense the steam rising from the brewhouse beneath, and convey it to the external air, with which it probably communicated by a louvre or central aperture.

Beyond the oven were the outer and inner *Laundry*, above which was the "red" or "unfinished room," so called from its remaining, in Horace Walpole's language, "in its native brickhood" ignorant of "the luxury of whitewash."

To the north of the bakehouse, which, it will be remembered, occupied the centre of this side, we enter the *Kitchen*,

the original appearance of which is set before us in the annexed woodcut from Lambert's drawing.



This room, like the hall and chapel, occupied the whole height of the house, twenty-eight feet, and contained three vast cavern-like fireplaces, with their huge chimnies projecting into the room within, and an oven, which is still to be traced at the south-west angle. It was lighted by three plain square windows in the upper range, and its walls were pierced with several openings, the purpose of which it is difficult to determine with accuracy. Tradition informs us that one of these apertures, on the east side of the kitchen, was furnished with chains and pulleys, by means of which all the heavier joints were raised, carried along the gallery, and then lowered into the hall; there is probably some degree of truth in the story, though it is not easy exactly to comprehend the nature of the arrangement indicated.

Immediately beyond the kitchen lay the *Chicken Court*, surrounded by offices, the destination of which may be seen from the ground plan, but which do not call for any particular remark. This court is represented in one of Lambert's drawings, but it is not of sufficient interest to merit engraving. In its style it corresponded with the Butler's Pantry Court, but the arches of the cloister on the north were partly built up, to adapt them to the purpose from which the court derived its appellation. At its upper or eastern end a building with a gable the whole width of the court formed the Dairy.

Having now completed our circuit of the Castle, and having endeavoured as far as practicable to present it to my readers as it existed in its perfect state, it may be interesting to peruse the lively description of Horace Walpole,¹⁴⁹ who visited Herstmonceux five and twenty years before its ruin, to which reference has been already made. This description is taken from a letter written from Battel, Aug. 5th, 1752, to Richard Bentley, Esq., only son of the well-known Dr. Bentley, master of Trinity College, Cambridge. The letter, which it is needless to say is most amusing, though perhaps somewhat more highly coloured, for the sake of effect, than truth would warrant, details a journey from Tunbridge Wells, made by Walpole, in company with Mr. Chute, for the express purpose of seeing Battel Abbey and Herstmonceux Castle. The account it contains of the state of the Sussex roads a century ago, proves to us that, however much there may still be to correct, before we can shake off the opprobrious proverb which speaks of

“ Sowsexe full of dirte and mire,”

there has been a greater change for the better than we have ordinarily any conception of.

Leaving Tunbridge Wells, Walpole visited Bayham Abbey, whence he set out for Battel; but before arriving at Robertsbridge he writes, “our woes increase. The roads grew bad beyond all badness, the night dark beyond all darkness, our guides frightened beyond all frightfulness.” At Robertsbridge the inn was “full of smugglers,” so, “armed with links and lanthorns,” they started again for Battel, where they arrived at two in the morning, and found “a worse inn,

¹⁴⁹ Walpole's Letters, edit. 1837, vol. i, pp. 175-7.

crammed with excise officers, one of whom had just killed a smuggler." The next morning the adventurous travellers started for Herstmonceux, undaunted by the report given of the road by the natives ("who," he says, "are forced to drive their curricles with a pair of oxen,") who represented it as "*totally* impracticable." Happily the report proved quite untrue, and Walpole speaks of the eight [ten] miles between Battel and Herstmonceux, as "the only morsel of good road in their whole tour."

"The Castle," he writes, "is seated at the end of a large vale, five miles in a direct line to the sea, with wings of blue hills covered with wood, one of which falls down to the house, in a sweep of 100 acres. The building, for the convenience of water to the moat, sees nothing at all; indeed it is entirely imagined on a plan of defence, with drawbridges actually in being, round towers, watch-towers mounted on them, and battlements pierced for the passage of arrows from long bows. It was built in the time of Henry VI, and is as perfect as the first day. It does not seem to have been ever quite finished, or at least that age was not arrived at the luxury of white-wash; for almost all the walls, except in the principal chambers, are in their native *brick-hood*. It is a square building, each side about two hundred feet in length; a porch and cloister very like Eton College; and the whole is much in the same taste, the kitchen extremely so, with three vast funnels to the chimneys going up on the inside. There are two or three little courts for offices, but no magnificence of apartments. It is scarcely furnished with a few necessary beds and chairs. One side has been sashed, and a drawing and dining-room, and two or three rooms, wainscoted by the earl of Sussex, who married a natural daughter of Charles the Second. Their arms, with delightful carvings by Gibbons, particularly two pheasants, hang over the chimneys. Over the great drawing-room chimney is the coat armour of the first Lennard, Lord Dacre, with all his alliances: Mr. Chute was transported, and called cousin with ten thousand quarterings.¹⁵⁰ The chapel is small and mean; the Virgin and seven long, lean saints, ill done, remain in the windows: there

¹⁵⁰ Catherine, daughter of Richard, Lord Dacre, married Chaloner Chute, of the *Vine*, in Hampshire.

have been four more, but seem to have been removed for light; and we actually found St. Catharine and another gentlewoman with a church in her hand, exiled into the buttery. There remain two odd cavities with very small wooden screens on each side the altar, which seem to have been confessionals. The outside is a mixture of grey brick and stone, that has a very venerable appearance. The draw-bridges are romantic to a degree; and there is a dungeon that gives one a delightful idea of living in the days of soccage, and under such goodly tenures. They showed us a dismal chamber, which they call Drummer's Hall, and suppose that Mr. Addison's comedy is descended from it. In the windows of the gallery over the cloisters which leads all round to the apartments is the device of the Fienneses, a wolf holding a baton with a scroll *le roy le veut*—an unlucky motto, as I shall tell you presently, to the last peer of that line. The estate is £2000. a-year, and so compact as to have but seventeen houses on it. We walked up a brave old avenue to the church, with ships sailing on our left hand the whole way. Before the altar lies a lank brass knight, hight William Fiennes, chevalier, who *obiit* M.C.C.C.C.V., that is, in 1405. By the altar is a beautiful tomb, all in our trefoil taste, varied into a thousand little canopies and patterns, and two knights reposing on their backs; these were Thomas, Lord Dacre, and his only son, Gregory, who died sans issue.

“An old grey-headed beadsman of the family talked to us of a blot in the scutcheon; and we had observed that the field of the arms was green instead of blue, and the lions ramping to the right, contrary to order. This, and the man's imperfect narrative, led us into the circumstances of the personage before us, for there is no inscription. He went, in a Chevy Chase style, to hunt in a Mr. Pelham's park, at Lawton; the keepers opposed, a fray ensued, a man was killed. The haughty baron took the death upon himself, as most secure of pardon; but, however, though there was no chancellor of the exchequer in the question, he was condemned to be hanged, *le roi le vouloist*.”¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Walpole is, of course, under a mistake here: Thomas, Lord Dacre, who was executed at Tyburn, was the grandson of the Lord Dacre to whom this monument was erected.

THE CHURCH.

THE last few lines of Walpole's lively narrative have already introduced us to the Parish Church, which crowns the hill to the west of the Castle. Thither let us now follow him, mounting the steep ascent; now no longer sheltered by the "brave old avenue" of oaks, which seventy years since connected the house of God with the noble mansion of the feudal lords by whose pious care it was built and adorned, but exposed to the full blaze of the mid-day sun.

As we approach the Church we cannot fail to be struck with the picturesqueness of its outline, and shall admire the judgment which placed the tower and spire at the north-west angle, in the very position to produce the greatest effect on the character of the building, and best withstand the fury of the south-west gales which are here so prevalent. The exposed situation of the Church does not allow the tower to be carried to any considerable height, and it is in fact several feet lower than the ridge of the roof, but rising as it does from the low side-aisle, its deficiency in elevation is completely overlooked in the north-east view, in which it assumes an importance hardly to have been expected from its dimensions. The annexed view (for which the Society is indebted to the generosity of Mr. Petit), which presents the Church as seen from the north-west, will enable those who are unacquainted with the building to judge of its character, and will show how much it is indebted for its general effect to the position of the tower.

The plan of the Church is simple; it consists of a chancel, with a chantry chapel to the north, a nave of three bays, with aisles to the north and south, the westernmost bay of the north aisle being occupied with the tower. There are porches on each side; that to the north, which is the entrance generally used, being a modern construction of wood on the old stone basement. The material of which the nave and aisles are built is rubble, plastered over; the tower is constructed of sandstone, and the spire is covered with wooden shingles. The chancel was partly rebuilt at the time of the



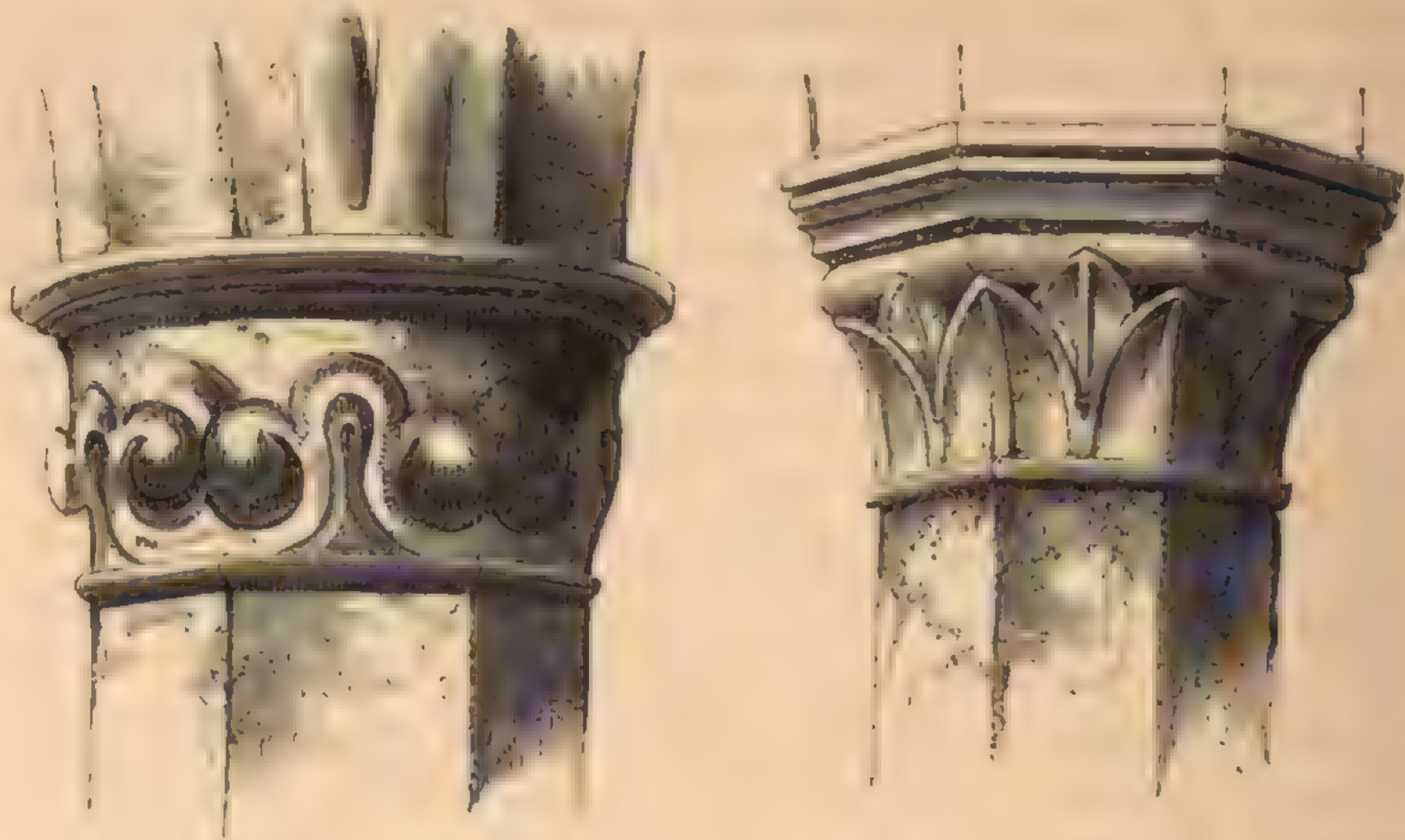
demolition of the Castle, out of the materials which it supplied in such abundance ; the chantry chapel is also of brick, and was probably erected at the same period with the Castle, or a little later, at which time all the windows would seem to have been altered ; for though the building is Early English, not a single window remains of that style, but all correspond with that on the north side of the chantry, which is of the ordinary square-headed Perpendicular type, of two trefoiled ogee-headed lights, surmounted by a label. The east window of the chantry is a Perpendicular supermullioned one, of three lights ; the east window of the chancel, one of the same character, of four lights, copied from the central compartment of the west window of New College Chapel, was inserted, a few years since, by Archdeacon Hare, in place of an ugly square-headed window, which had been put in at the close of the last century. The slope of the aisle roofs is broken by dormer windows, which, if too nearly approaching the character of domestic architecture, are certainly a great improvement upon the clumsy garret windows with which so many of our churches have been disfigured when, as in this case, additional light beyond that supplied by the original apertures, is absolutely required. The head of the western window and the door below it have been stopped up, and the whole west end plastered, with false joints to imitate stone work, by which the effect of that part of the building has been very much injured.

Within, the Church is of the simplest character ; but the beauty which is not always ensured by a profusion of architectural decoration, is here in a remarkable degree the result of just proportions, and the absence of those disfigurements by which the interior of so many of our country churches are marred. When the pillars and arches were doing penance in a sheet of whitewash, which had so clogged the capitals that the foliage was hardly to be discerned, and the whole area was encumbered with pews of all shapes and sizes, the casual visitor would have seen but little to admire in the interior of Herstmonceux Church ; but now that the judicious care of one to whom every stone of the building is dear, has brought out the expressive features which had so long lain hid, and, replacing the square pews by open seats of plain yet appro-

priate design, allowed the columns to be seen in their whole height from base to capital, the general effect of the interior is one not to be easily forgotten, especially if seen when the shades of evening are gathering around, and the last rays of the setting sun are pouring in, gilding an arch or a pillar here and there with a brightness which only serves to deepen the gloom which is enshrouding the rest of the Church.

The aisles are separated from the nave by well-proportioned arches of two plainly chamfered orders, springing from octagonal piers with foliated capitals. There are three of these arches on the south, but only two on the north, the tower which occupies the westernmost bay on this side, communicating with the Church by a lower arch of more contracted dimensions.

The style of each arcade is Early English, but the foliage of the capitals renders it evident that the arches to the north are



of considerably earlier date than those which correspond to them on the south, which are supported by piers of somewhat more slender proportions. The arches of the north aisle rest on a single pier and two responds; the capitals of the latter are precisely similar, and are ornamented with stiff upright pointed leaves, that of the pier being surrounded with a band of large clumsy trefoils; the execution of all is very



rude. The capitals of the two piers on the south are of more elegant design, though still of somewhat rude workmanship; they are carved with small upright leaves standing close together, turning over with a crisped head beneath the abacus: the capitals of the responds as well as of the chancel arch are simply moulded. The roof of the north aisle has evidently been raised at some period subsequent to its erection; the moulding on the inner face of the tower shows its original height, whether the alteration was made at the time of the erection of the south aisle or when the church was generally repaired in the fifteenth century, is impossible to determine.

The roofs are ceiled throughout, but the beams supporting that of the nave are open, and cleared from whitewash.

On the north side of the chancel, opening into the chantry, stands the chief architectural ornament of the Church—the noble Dacre Tomb, whose richly fretted front reaches almost from the floor to the ceiling, erected in 1534 to the memory of Thomas, Lord Dacre, and Thomas his son.

This monument, from its position, presents two fronts, one towards the chancel, and one towards the chantry on the north. Both parts are similar in arrangement and in architectural decoration, though that to the chancel is of somewhat greater elevation. The material of which the tomb is built is the grey-shell marble, from the quarries of Petworth; but the canopies of the niches and more delicate tracery are executed in Caen stone, and much of the carving is as sharp as when first done. The north front is in a sad state of decay, the surface of the shell-marble having, from some unexplained cause, become disintegrated; but the rest of the monument is in fair preservation. A few years since it was cleansed from a coat of whitewash, with which it had been bedaubed by the order of a rural dean of the last century, and the coats of arms on the south side were fresh emblazoned, and the crests and mantlings partially gilt. It is much to be regretted that the ignorance of the painter employed in this good work has perpetuated some false heraldry, and made the identification of the coats a matter of some difficulty.

The design of this monument is of the kind so prevalent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, consisting of an altar-

tomb, beneath an obtusely-arched recess, surmounted by a richly-decorated cornice, in several horizontal divisions.

The basement of the tomb is plain, the front is divided by slender arched panels into four square compartments ornamented with quatrefoils, the interior sweep and spandrels of which are most richly cusped and feathered. On the tomb, beneath the arched canopy, the soffit of which is richly panelled and decorated with colour, repose the effigies of Lord Dacre and his son, in armour, with their heads, which are bare, resting on their tilting helmets, and their hands joined in prayer.

The arched canopy is cinquefoiled, each cusp being again foliated, and the spandrels contain trefoils subdivided in a similar manner, producing an effect of surpassing richness. It is surmounted by a flat horizontal cornice, divided into eight quatrefoiled squares, six of the compartments containing a shield, emblazoned with the arms of the alliances of the family. Above this is an embattled cornice, with which the design terminates on the side towards the chantry. The greater height of the chancel allowed the addition of two more cornices, the lower carved with foliage, the upper divided into foliated arched panels, with intersecting tracery, the whole finished with a row of the ordinary trefoil or strawberry-leaf ornament. In front of this upper cornice are introduced three escutcheons, surmounted by the tilting helmet, mantle and crest, carved in relief, and originally richly painted and gilt; but now all but the centre shield are blank, and the alants which surmount two of the helmets are covered with paint of a plain stone colour. The central shield presents the arms of the Fienes family (azure, three lions rampant or), and above it the family crest, an eagle, with an annulet in his beak, or.

The monument is flanked on either side by a nich of extraordinary richness, set against the east wall. One of these is represented in the woodcut; but it fails altogether in giving any adequate idea of the delicacy of the carving, or the extraordinary richness of the tracery which has been lavished upon its decoration.

The western angles are chamfered off and adorned with two niches, with ogée canopies of the most elaborate workmanship.

Both faces of the monument are rich in heraldic decoration. Besides the Fienes coat and crest which have been already

mentioned, the quatrefoiled cornice above the canopy contains six coats on either side: those to the north are original; those to the south have been repainted with no great accuracy. The coats on the northern side, commencing from the west, are (1) Az. an orle of martlets or, on an inescutcheon arg. 3 bars, gules. (2) Az. three chevronels braced in the base of the escutcheon or, a chief of the 2d (Fitzhugh).¹⁵² (3) Barry of 6, arg. and az. a bend, gules (Grey). (4) Argent, a fesse, gules. (5) Gules, 3 lions, passant, gardant or, in pale.¹⁵³ (6) The same as No. 4. On the south the restored coats are (7) Sable, a cross or. (8) The same as No. 3. (9) The same as No. 4. (10) Quarterly or, and gules an escarbuncle sable.¹⁵⁴ (11) Barry of six, argent and gules. (12) Azure, a fesse, gules.¹⁵⁵ The coat (No. 7) is also repeated in the centre of one of the quatrefoils in the basement on the south. Beneath the flanking nich in the chantry is an escutcheon, Vair, the coat of the family of Filiol.¹⁵⁶

From the will of Lord Dacre it appears that this stately monument was erected not only to commemorate himself and his son, but also for the purposes of an *Easter sepulchre*. This, as is well known, was the spot where the ceremonies typifying the burial and resurrection of our Lord, prescribed by, and still practised in the Romish Communion, were annually performed on Good Friday and Easter Day. For this purpose an arched recess was often formed in the north wall of the chancel above a low altar-tomb without inscription;¹⁵⁷ at other times an actual tomb was used for these ceremonies, as in the instance under consideration, and in

¹⁵² The mother of the Lord Dacre to whom this tomb was erected was Alice, daughter of Henry, Lord Fitzhugh.

¹⁵³ The arms of Holland are the same as these, *within a bordure arg.* Sir Roger Fienes married Elizabeth Holland, but her arms are given as azure semée of fleur-de-lis.

¹⁵⁴ This is probably a mistake of the painter for quarterly vert and or, in centre a mullet sable, which was the coat of Lord Berners, into whose family Lord Dacre married.

¹⁵⁵ False heraldry; the coat was probably the same as No. 4.

¹⁵⁶ It is a matter of great regret to me that I have been able to identify so few of these coats with alliances of the Fienes or Dacre family. Others, it is hoped, will be more fortunate.

¹⁵⁷ The sepulchre was sometimes decorated with rich tabernacle work and sculptured figures, illustrative of the Resurrection, as at Heckington, Lincolnshire, and Northwold, Gloucestershire.

Milford church, Suffolk, where the tomb of John Clopton (who died in 1497) formed, like the Dacre tomb, under an open arch pierced through the north wall of the chancel into the chantry beyond, was employed as the sepulchre.¹⁵⁸ The fabric of the sepulchre itself, which was of painted wood, was taken away from the recess shortly after Easter, so that no vestiges of it remain, either here, or in any other instance.

A recess consisting of a septfoiled arch, supported on shafts and capitals of early decorated character, will be seen in the wall of the south aisle, towards the east. There is neither date nor trace of inscription to aid us in determining its purpose, and a shield which is carved in the head of the arch is blank.

The only other antient memorial in the church is the noble brass to Sir William Fienes, to which allusion has already been made. It is of very early date, and remarkably fine workmanship, and though somewhat mutilated, in a very fair state of preservation. The effigy of the knight in complete armour, with his feet resting on a lion, stands under a richly crocketed ogée canopy crowned with a finial, springing from slender buttresses terminated with pinnacles. Four coats of arms adorned the slab, but they have all been removed. The inscription, when perfect, ran as follows :—

William Ffienles¹⁵⁹ Chiualer q̄ morust le xviij jour de
Janeber l'an del Incarncon nre [Seigneur] Jheū
Cryst mcccc gist p̄y [Dieu de sa alme eyt mercie]
q̄ pur sa alme deuostement Pater noster et Ave
prierā vj^{xx} jours de pardon en auera.

The font in which Sir Roger Fienes, the builder of the Castle, was baptized, more than four centuries since, still stands under the westernmost arch on the south side. It is of plain decorated character, the square basin supported on

¹⁵⁸ Bloxam's Monumental Architecture, p. 176.

¹⁵⁹ The orthography of this name is very various : it appears under the forms—Fienes, Ffienles, Fynes, Fenes, Fenys, Fenles, Fendles, Fiesnes, Fisnes, Fesnes, Fyesnes, &c.

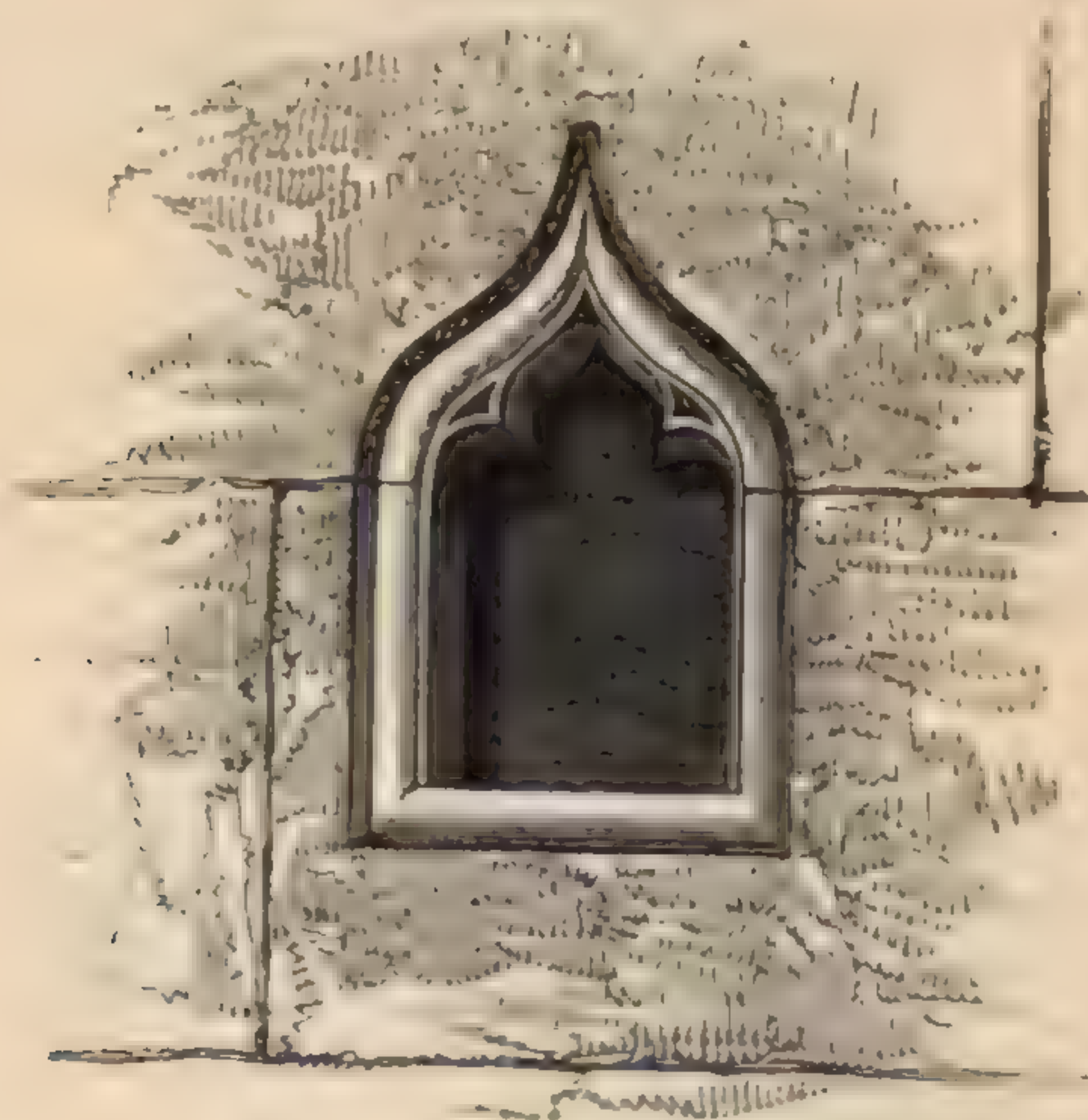
octagonal shafts, and a larger cylindrical pillar in the centre. The basin is leaded within.



There is a trefoiled aumbry of plain character in the north wall of the chancel, but there are no existing traces of any piscina in the church.



A very small shallow recess, trefoiled, with an ogée head, occurs by the side of a squint or hagioscope opening from the north aisle into the chancel. It is difficult to conceive its purpose.



Another squint communicates between the chantry and the chancel to the west of the Dacre tomb, but both are now blocked up.

The only vestiges of antient painted glass remaining in the church are some fragments of the Evangelistic symbols in the east window of the chantry. The heads of the lion and the eagle, and part of the name **Marcus** are still to be observed.

The interior dimensions of the church are—nave, 47 feet 2 inches long, 19 feet broad; chancel, 29 feet long, 18 feet broad; aisles, 12 feet broad. Total length, 76 feet 2 inches; breadth, 43 feet.

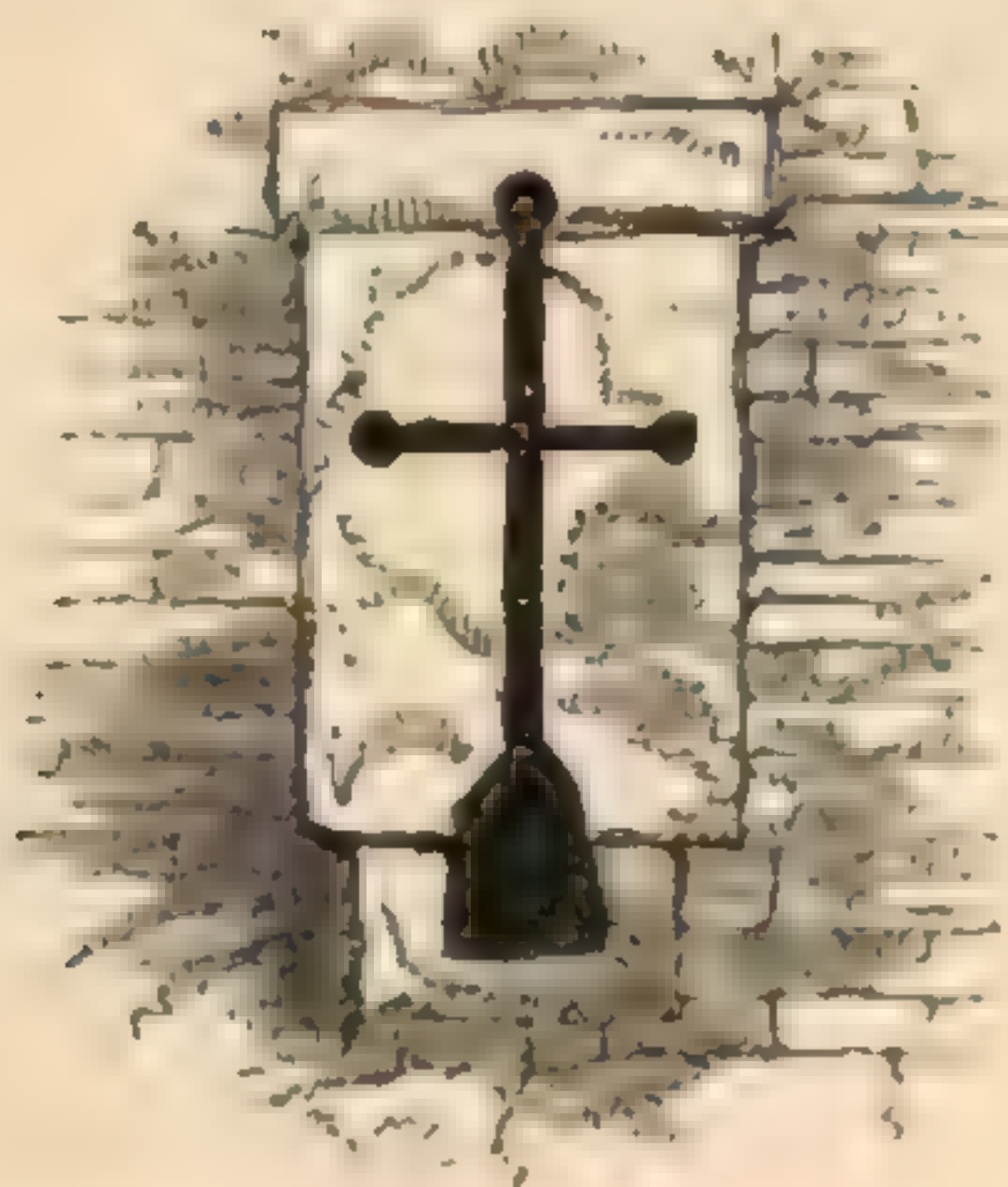
The principal object of the present memoir—the description of the Castle and Church of Herstmonceux—has now been brought to an end; but it would be felt to be an unpardonable omission, especially by all who were present at the Annual Meeting in 1850, if I were to close this paper without some mention of the noble old barn beneath whose spacious

roof the Society found shelter from the pitiless storm which interfered so greatly with the proceedings of that day, and partook of the good fare so bountifully provided for them.

The size and antiquity of this barn mark it out as an object of great interest, and no one of the company who dined in it on the occasion referred to, is likely ever to forget the wonderful beauty of the effect of its dimly-lighted interior, richly decorated with flowers and evergreens, and thronged with the crowd of visitors, whose archæological zeal not even the drenching rain had been able to damp.

The barn is separated into a nave and side aisles by heavy wooden pillars, supported on longitudinal sills, and bearing arched trusses to carry the beams of the roof, and thus has a rude likeness to the interior of a church. It is divided into seven, or, including the extremities of the aisles, which are carried round the ends of the building, nine bays. The width of the bays of the nave is twenty feet, the return of the aisles seven feet, making the entire length, from end to end, one hundred and fifty-four feet. The width of the nave is twenty-two feet, the entire width, taking in the aisles, thirty-nine feet.

The barn is built of rubble-work, supported with plain sloping buttresses; but the western wall, having fallen into decay, has been replaced by wood. The walls are very low, and contain in each bay a small triangular opening, to afford light to the interior. The roof is hipped, and covered with thatch. The date of the building is uncertain, but I should be inclined to place it not later than the end of the fourteenth century.



Loophole in Gateway.

APPENDIX.

A.

*“Extract from a curious Survey, made by Robert Tydesleghe and Thomas Luxford, in the time of Gregory Fynes, Lord Dacre, of his Manors in Sussex, August 23, 12 Eliz., in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Hare, of Herstmonceux. A.D. 1778.”*¹⁶⁰

“(A^o. 12 Eliz.)—The manor-house of Herstmonceux, standeth on the east side of the Church of Herstmonceux, about one furlong and a half from the said Church, and in the west part of the said park, entering the park-gate towards the south-west and north parts; same house eastwards descending towards the valley wherein the said house standeth; the south-west and north parts moated about, the outer part of the moat being of brick-wall, and paled upon the same, and the east part thereof lying open to the park and woods, sometime being a pond, and now good pasture, all the moat being of late drained, having little or no water therein, for the more healthful standing of the said house; the entrance of the house being towards the north, on a bridge fifty feet long . . . feet broad, and . . . feet high, from the bottom of the moat, whereof . . . feet next to the gate is a draught-bridge, devised for strength, the house being castle-like; builded quadrant, every way containing . . . in length, and as much in breadth; builded with brick, covered with slate; the towers, gutters, and platforms thereof covered with lead. The whole towers and other edifices are battled. The entering into the said house is at a fair square tower, containing . . . feet, and of stories . . . my lords arms fairly set forth in stone on the front, over the entering of the same, having fair lights of the chief lodging, and second stories of the same tower, embosed of stone; the high story being a platform covered with lead, and on every side-corner of the same gate one tower of six square embattled, being round within, and in every of them a watch-tower, embattled, covered with lead, and eighteen feet above the rest of the same tower. The same gate and towers have portholes, embosed under the embattlement, for casting stones and other defensive engines for defending the same gate; the said gate and towers being defective, of separations of the embattlement thereof, and the watch-towers wasted of great length, with violence of wind and weather, needful to be seen unto. Within the entering of the gate is a fair room, vaulted, of . . . feet broad and . . . feet long. Within the edifice of the said house are four gardens, or courts, whereof the first is at the entering of the house, having a fair walk, as in a quadrant, divided from the entering of the said garden with a wall of brick, of eight arches of every side, bearing the inner part of the galleries, serving for lodgings; three parts of the same are embattled, and the fourth part, towards the north, next the hall, hath a platform covered with lead, for a walk, and

¹⁶⁰ MSS. Burrell. MSS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5679, p. 563.

the galleries and lodgings of two stories, the higher being of no force; the lights thereof set out of the roof of one square light, gable-wise builded, with turrets embattled. And a fair chapel being on the east corner of the same quadrant, and the hall builded on the north, entering at the west corner of the walk and lower end; the same hall being . . feet long and . . feet over, embattled on both sides; having a square tower at every end, embattled, and covered with lead; the hall having five lights above the said platform on every side, with galleries at both ends. And at the upper end and lower end of the hall, entering north, on the lower story, there is one other fair walk, lyeing about another of the said gardens, having galleries on three parts of the second story thereof, embattled, having on every side lights, with turrets, as in the former galleries, and the north-east corner thereof entereth the parlour, being parcel of the east part of the quadrant of the house; and in the north-east part of the same garden, by the parlour door, a fair half-pace stairs, entering towards the galleries, which cometh to the chief lodging, called the Gilded Chamber, and to the other chambers adjoining. The other two courts on the other side are for the kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse, and other necessary houses of offices, which standeth on the west quadrant of the said house, being well served with fair water, conveyed from a spring, over the mote, in troughs of timber. The same house is built castle-like, in a quadrant, as before, having at every corner one fair tower, covered with lead, of six square, four stories high; and also between every of the same corner towers there is one other tower of like building, leading to the leads and embattlements; whereas there are walks to pass round about the same house and quadrant; and at the north side of the same house there is a draught-bridge over the mote aforesaid of . . feet broad and . . feet long, leading towards an harbour and orchard, walled about with brick, which is . . feet square, wherein standeth a fair pile of brick, of four stories high, covered with slatt, having a round tower leading to the said stories, the lower part being fairly glazed, which hath been used for a banqueting-house; and at the north-east corner of the said harbour there is one other building, sometimes used for a washing-house, &c., the house having a fair prospect towards the sea, and the Castle and Level of Pevensey on the south; the other three parts thereof are environed about with hills and woods, parcel of the said park. The said park standeth in the east side of the Church of Herstmonceux, the manor-place being in the same park, not distant above two furlongs from the said Church of Herstmonceux, the said park being three miles about, the third part thereof lyeing in lawns, and the residue well set with great timber trees, most of beech, and partly oak, of fair timber. The game of fallow deer in the same park are by estimation two hundred; whereof are sixty deer of antler, at the taking of this survey.

The keeping of the said park is given to Thomas Cardyff, one of my lords menial servants, with the fee of sixty shillings, the gate, and feeding of ten kyne, one bull, and two geldyngs; the windfalls, and two several fields, containing three acres and an half, called the Keepers Croft, and paying eight shillings by the year for the same crofts; herbage, beside the charge before, will bear twelve geldings or mares in summer-time and six in winter; the mast, or pawnage, being a mast year, is worth . . which is preserved for the deer. There are four fair ponds, well replenished with carp, tenche, &c., and four stewes besides, the mote being dry. There is a hernery in the same park, called the Hern-wood, and they used to breed in divers parts of the

park; the same hath yielded this year one hundred and fifty nests, whereof . . . of showlers and the rest of hernshaws. There is a fair warren of conies within the said park, which is most used in the lawn called Howfield, being replenished, by estimation, with . . . couple of conies; the same game being of late in the keeping of the keeper, is now letten to the keeper for the yearly rent of £6. 13s. 4d., who standeth bound to serve my Lord forty dozen conies, after three shillings the dozen, yf he be thereof required, or so many as he shall be required after the rate, and the Lord discharged of the fee. There is a lodge covered with the thack; and a stable very ruinous yn timber and covering, wherein the keeper now lyeth. There are three usual gates of the said park; the one called the *Church gate*, *Wartling gate*, and *Coupers (Comphurst) gate*. There are two highways leading through the park to the Church, market, and townships adjacent. There are, besides the manor-house of Herstmonceux, other edifices, viz. an old stable, forge, and slaughter-house, without the mote. There is a fair barn, a stable, and a mansion-house near adjoyning, lyeing together, with a court and curtilage, near the park pale, between the Church lyten of the west and the park east, and the great Hobney south, used for the Lord's bayly for hay. There is also one other little house, with a curtilage, adjacent to the Church on the west. The Lord Dacre hath also a fishynge in the haven of Pemsy, amongst others, for drawyng and taking eels, viz. my said lord, the bayly of the liberty, and the heirs of . . . Thetcher, esquier, every one of them ought to have one nights fishing yearly; and every two of the jurats of the same liberty to have likewise yearly one night's fishing there, the commodytie whereof worth yearly to my said Lord Dacre . . . which hath not of late years been put in execution by my lord: albeit the jurors being of the corporation of the same liberty, do acknowledge my lords right therein. Wherefore it were very requisite for my said lord to cause the same to be put yearly in execution, for preserving his right and preeminens therein.

The lords court baron for Herstmonceux hath been always used to be kept the same days for the manor, which they call the Custome Court. The Lord Dacre hath the inheritance of the patronage of the Rectory and Church of Herstmonceux, which is in the queens books £18. per ann., the same being worth forty marks by the year, besides the serving of the cure at this day; whereof one Robert Kensey, of the age of fifty-four years, is parson, by the gift of the Queen Mary, in the time of my lords minority.

The copyholders hold their lands by copy of court-roll, to them and their heirs, at the will of the lord, after the custom of the said manor; as well in fee-simple, fee-tayle, cess for terme of life, paying heriots, viz., their best live cattle or goods at every death or alienation, for every several copyhold, the heir paying a reasonable fine at my lords will, whereof certain of the copyholders claim to pay a certain sum named in their copies, in the name of a heriot when it happeneth. The youngest son doth inherit the copyhold by custom. The copyholders may surrender their copyholds into the stewards hand, in open court or into the hands of the bayly and one of the lords tenants and copyholders out of court, by a Rod, to the use of his wife, or to whose use he will, the same to be presented at the next court lawfully summoned. The custom is, that three solemn proclamations shall be made at three several courts following after such surrender, or death of tenant presented, that the heir, or such as have right, shall come in and make fyne, or

else to be seized into the lords hands, and the bayly to be charged in the mean time for answering the issues, if none make fyne. If the copyhold descend to daughters, every of them shall enjoy as co-heirs, and the inheritance shall be divided. The copyholder shall do no waste, but may take competent fewell of the underwoods, and shall have necessary timber and wood for reparation, usages of their tenures and husbandry, to be occupied on the same, by assignment of the Lords Woodward, after presentment thereof duly made by the homage. The copyholder may surrender his copyhold, or any part thereof, to any other for yeres, or on mortgage, upon repayment of money, whereupon the taker shall make fyne with the lord in court; which done, the farmer shall enjoy during his term, although the tenant dye, and the heir be admitted, and pay his fyne during the term, saving the term to the farmer. And if the copyholder dye, his heir being under ten yeres of age, the lord by the steward, for a fyne to the lords use, may grant the custody and governance of the copyhold, during the minority of the heir by cople, which granted, shall by that grant have and take the use and profit of the copyhold for the tyme, for the use and education of the heir, with the custody of such heir.

The freeholders pay only for every freehold, after their deceases, their best beast, or horse for heriot, and the heir shall pay relief, after the quantity of his tenure.

There is in the parish of Hethfylde a wood called *Bayly Wood*, containing 107 acres, in the tenure of the lord of Buckhurst, which was stored with goodly timber trees of Oke and Byche, whereof the one half is fallen, by the lord of Buckhurst and his father, and the residue is yearly to be felled, without preserving the copices, by my Lord Dacres grant and sale of the same woods.

There is paid yearly to the Queens majestie, going out of a parcel of marsh ground, called *Battsforde Marsh*, in Pevensey, 16s. 10d. yearly, at Easter and Michaelmas, payd to the bayly of Pevensey, parcel of the dutchy of Lancaster, and demandeth for the sute of court, the rent being yearly allowed to the bayly of Herstmonceux. To *Harbert Pelham*, Esq., for *Stonelande*, and parcel of the lords demesnes lyeing in Warteling and Herstmonceux, to his manor of *Buckstepe*, Dallington, 5s. as before, with the demand of the sute of court. To *James Gage*, Esq., as to his manor of *Stocklande*, for the lands in *Boram*, called *Chapel lands*, paid as before, 4s. *Serjeant Jefferys* demandeth likewise, in yearly rents, 20s., to be paid to his manor of *Hillingly*, out of the manor of *Gotham*, for the same manor; but this is not paid, nor hath been these twenty years. *Item*, there is payd out of the myll, called *Charne Myll*, by the farmer there, unto *Thomas Parker*, Esq., as unto his manor of *Warbleton*, 18d. yearly, at the feast of S. Michael and the Annunciation of our Lady.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ The rental of the estate, according to a survey made, May 1st, 1770, by John Bean, was £2186. 3s. 9½d. Particulars of the tenants and their holdings, were drawn up about the same time, for Lord Sheffield's use, who was then meditating the purchase of the estate; according to this survey, the estate contained 3044a. 2r. 24p., and was worth £68,932. 1s. 6½d. The rectory then produced £300 a year. In the park were 150 head of deer.

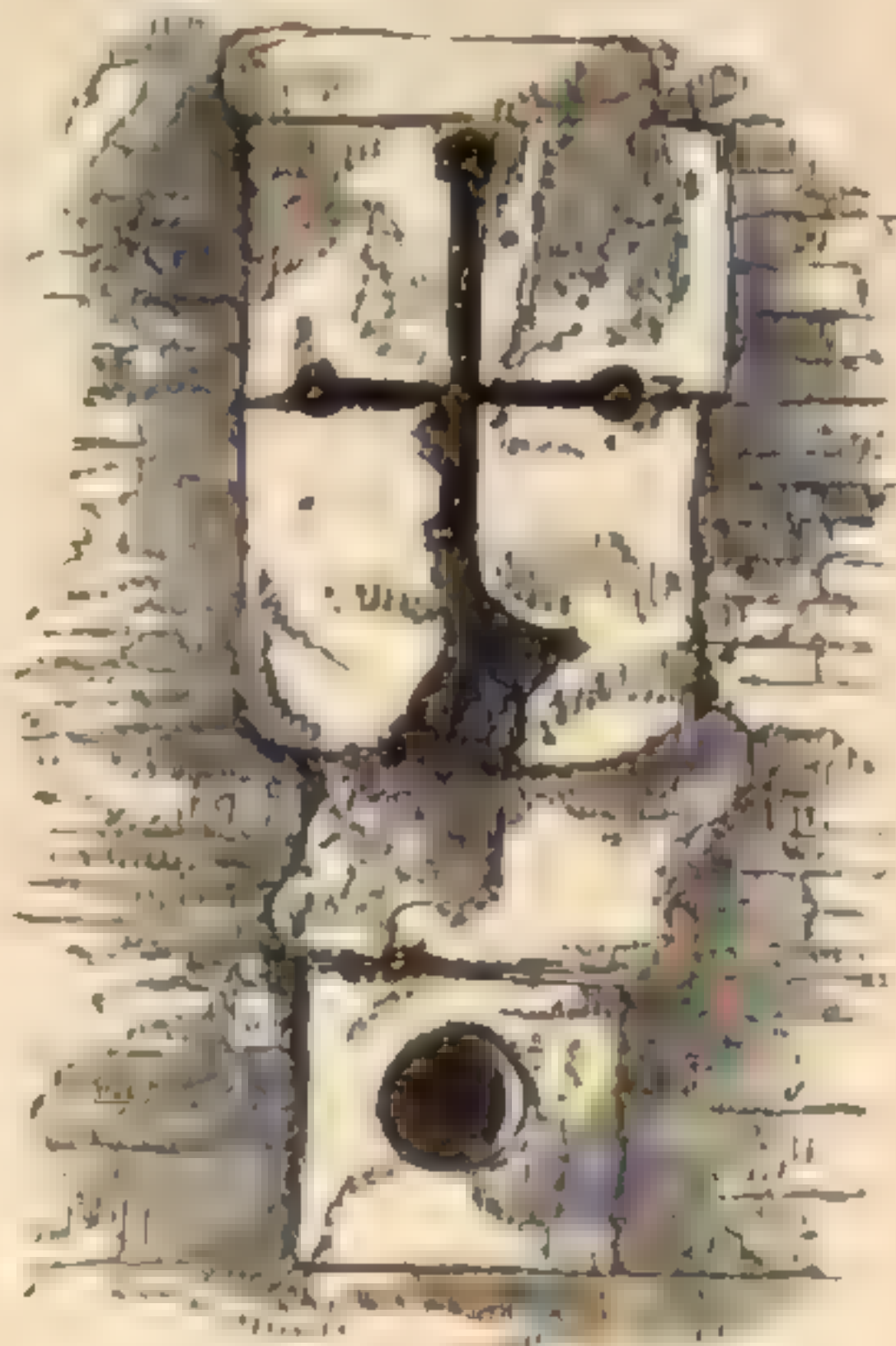
B.

In the Nonæ Rolls for the county of Sussex, we find the following particulars of the condition of the parish of Herstmonceux, in the reign of Edward III.¹⁶²

The inquisition was held at Lewes, on the Monday after Midlent Sunday, 1341, before Henry Hussey and his brother assessors. The parishioners, from whose information the value of the ninth was determined, were Richard de Stonore, William de Megham, John le Bothel, and Robert le Bothel.¹⁶³ They declared, on their oath, that the ninth of the sheaves was worth 15m. 6s. 8d., that of the fleeces 10s., and that of the lambs also 10s., amounting altogether to 17m. (*i. e.* £11. 6s. 8d.). The abbot and convent of Bayham held 40 acres of land, the ninth of which was 6s. 7d. The church was taxed at 30m. (£20), but the ninth could not agree with that rating, because the rector held a messuage and a carucate of land, worth 10 marcs, with which the church was endowed. The rector also had tithes, worth 5s. a-year, from certain places in Wartling parish, and tithes of hay, worth 27s. 6d. There were none in the parish living by merchandise, but all depended on their fields and flocks."

¹⁶² *Inquisitiones Nonarum*, p. 371.

¹⁶³ The localities from which these individuals were designated, still preserve their names. *Megham*, or *Magham Down*, is an elevated common between Herstmonceux and Hailsham; *Bothel*, or *Bodle Street*, is the name of a detached hamlet to the north-east, partly in Herstmonceux and partly in Warbleton parish.



Loop-hole in Gateway.

ON SOME
WILLS OF INHABITANTS OF HERSTMONCEUX,
AND NEIGHBOURING PARISHES.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

READ AT THE HERSTMONCEUX MEETING.

IN the third volume of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, p. 108, will be found some Notes on the Wills of various individuals proved in the Consistory Courts of Lewes and Chichester, in the 16th century. In the present short paper I intend noticing some wills of the first half of that period relating to Herstmonceux and the neighbouring parishes. Mr. Venables has furnished us with many interesting details of the history of the *lords* of this ancient barony: the following notes have reference to some of their dependents—the husbandmen who occupied their lands and, after a life of honest toil, disposed of its humble result by testamentary bequest. Several interesting considerations regarding the state of society at large, and of this class and locality in particular, may be deduced from them.

On the 28th of March, 1543, *William Longeley* of Hyrstmownsex, husbandman, bequeaths his “sowle into the hands of Almighty God the father, to our lady St. Mary, and to all the glorious company of hevyn, and his body to be buried within the churchyard of Hyrstmownsex.” To the high altar of the church of Hyrstmownsex for “recompens of his consyens, iiij*l*.” To the church, xx*l*. “Item,” says he, “I will to be done for my sawle, and all christen souls, at my buryeng, iiij masses, one barell of bere and a bushell of whete to be bake in brede and one fat shepe to be bake in pies to refreshe the povyrtye of the parishe.” These funeral feasts are of constant occurrence at this date. The will of Nicholas

Willard of Hailsham, dated only three months subsequently (26th June, 1543), directs a "steer to be killed of the value of 20s. to be distributed and given to poore people, to pray for his soul, with meat and drink convenient." "Item," adds Longley, "I will lykewise to be done for my sall and all christen sawls at my monthes mynd and yers mind [*the church services held respectively one and twelve months after burial*] in every condicion as at my buryeng." As to his possessions, he gives his sisters Aggas and Agnes each one "twelmontyng hafer-bullocke;" to his father his best "cote," his russet cape and 10s.; to his servants, Eliz. and Jane, each a sheep; to his servants, Parnell and Forster, each a sheep and a lamb; to his servants, Arthur Lole and Jno. Holstocke, each a sheep; to father *broke* a sheep; to five children of John Lands of "lyme" lately deceased, each 6s. 8d. "Lyme" probably means Lime Cross in this parish. To his son Robert he gives his farm called Grene Marshe, and 20s. a year out of his farm called 20 acres, together with 3 kine, 3 calffes, and all the profits of those lands to be delivered into the hands of his uncle, Master Parson Howell. The residue of his estate he gives to Margery his wife, while he appoints his brother-in-law, Master Parson Howell (by whom is probably meant the incumbent of the parish) the overseer of his last will and testament.

John Honwyne of Herstmonsex by his will, dated 28th March, 1544, directs his body to be buried in the "*church-erthe*." He gives to the high altar 10s. and to the church-box, 2s. He desires at his burial 4 masses, every priest to have for dirge and mass 8d., and the same at his month's mind; 5s. with meat and drink on each occasion to be given to the poor. To Thomas, his son, on his coming of age, he gives 5 marks sterling; the like sum to his other three sons; 40s. apiece to his daughters; and to each of his god-children 4d. To Jams Smerssall he bequeaths his best "redde pety-cote" and his "whyte fustyan doblett;" to Thos. Gyllam, his servant, his "blew cote with buttons;" to Arthur Havylle, his servant, "5 yards of Kendall with lynyng, and redy made to his backe." To Jno. Bonyface his "olde fryes cote;" to Edw. Astocke a pair of white hose; to James Swyft his "old

redde petycote." The most singular gift of the will is the bequest of one of this humble testator's garments to a gentleman: "To Robert Allyngton, gentleman, my doblet of damaske!" A parallel case occurs in the will of Nicholas Willard of Hailsham, before mentioned, in which he gives to Mr. Anthony Devenish, a member of one of the best families of the county, his "best chamlett jacket!" Honwyne further gives to the honest people of Wartling and Hailsham 12*d.* each parish; to the "mending of the way against Cokyngs Gate with the causey 20*d.*" He also bequeaths to Sir Wylliam (the priest) to make a sermon at his monthe's day, 3*s.* 4*d.* Among the witnesses are Mr. Howell, clerke, and Robert Alyngton, gentylman.

On Oct. 25, 1540, *John Colbrond* of Bodyllstrete, in Herstmonceux, husbandman, bequeaths to the high and principal altar of the church, for recompence of his conscience, 12*d.*; to the mother church of Chichester, 2*d.*; to his wife, 4 kine, a marc, and the third of his household stuff; to his son Robert 40*s.*, an ewe, and a lamb; to his son William 40*s.*, and a "twelmontyng haffer;" to his son Nicholas 40*s.*, and a lamb; to his two daughters 40*s.* each. He directs his executors to procure three masses at his funeral, and to dole 20*d.* to the poor: the like at his month's mind and year's mind.

Bodle Street, the testator's place of residence, is a hamlet in the parish of Herstmonceux. In the Nona Return for this parish, in 1341, the name of *Le Bothel* occurs among the jurors, and from his family the hamlet doubtless received its appellation.

By the will of *Thomas Bulke*, of Wartling, dated 12th March, 1546, he makes to Edward Hardy, the overseer of his will, the singular bequest of the best tree standing on his land at Wartling, 20*d.* in money, and one of his best brass pots!

John Wencham, of Wartling, 27th Jan. 1548, directs his interment in Herstmonsex churchyard, and gives to Alice his wife 6 kine, half his household stuff, 10 ewes, 4 seams of

wheat, and as many of oats, the best bed in his house, his best mare, half his hogs, the occupation of 3 acres of oatland and one of wheatland, for life, at the disposal of George Weneham, his son, with all his indenture land which he holds of Mr. Devenishe. The Devenishes, who claimed to be lineal descendants of King Edward the First, resided at Horse-lunges, in the parish of Hellingly.

Robert Fuller, of Herstmonsex, 25th Feb. 1542, opens his will in the following terms:—

“I, Robert Fuller, of the parishe of Hyrstmonsex, beyng in good helth, and having parfett remembrance, consydering nothing more certayne then deathe, and nothyng more uncertayne then the owre of death, make my last wyll, as hereafter doth appere. Ffyrst, I bequeth my sawle to Almyghty God, vnto whose image it was created, clayming to be enerytor wth Cryst of y^e joyes in hevyn, by the meretts of his passyon, and my body to the erth from the which it came, to be buried in Crystyan buryal, and all my goods to the world in the which I dyd geat them, to be disposyd in man^r and form foloyng.”

The bequests of this will are of the ordinary kind, and I have only cited the foregoing passage as a specimen of the pious phraseology of will-making in olden times. This has now passed away, and, except in some rare instances, our modern wills are devoid of every expression from which the *Christianity* of the testator might be inferred. This is surely incompatible with the notions which prevail of the religiousness of the present age!

About this time the formula devoting the testator's soul to “St. Mary and all the holy company of heaven,” begins to disappear from many wills. The will of Richard Colbrand, of Wartling, dated 2 Edw. VI, contains, in its preamble, a remarkable profession of the Protestant faith.

Richard Frankwell, of Wartlyng, who made his will 20th March, 1540, must have been above plebeian rank, since he directs his interment in the parish church. To the “heygh autere” of Wartling he gives 2*d.*; to three priests, for masses at the customary times, 8*d.* each time for each; to “poor

folkis " ten " grotis." Among various other bequests is the following, to Elyn, his daughter: "two kyn, two tolmontyngis, one pot, one pane, one quern, one foleing table, one chere, one akere of whete, one akere of otis, one fedar bede, one bolster, one payre of shetes, one blanket, one cetel (kettle) conteynyng iiij gallonst, one hoge of halfe-yere old, all his weanis (waggon), plewis (ploughs), tyllis (harrows), and yokis."

Sir William Lermouth, priest, occurs as one of the witnesses: he was probably the incumbent of Wartling.

The perusal of these old documents suggests two interesting considerations. In the first place, we see with what remarkable tenacity families of the humbler rank adhere to particular localities. Most of the names mentioned in the wills of the sixteenth century, are the great staple names of the nineteenth. Many of those occurring in Herstmonceux wills, three hundred years old, still remain in this parish and its immediate vicinity. Indeed many of the families in middle and low life seem to have been all but *Αὐτόχθονες*—earth-born, inhabiting almost the precise spots from which, in the days of the early and middle Plantagenets, their ancestors assumed their generic appellations. A remarkable instance may be cited from the adjacent parish of Hellingly. In that parish there is a small property called Akehurst, a purely Saxon word, signifying "the wood of oaks." From that little estate, in or prior to the 14th century, its proprietor borrowed his family name. Two hundred years later we find the will of a Thomas Akehurst, a resident in the same place, and at this day, three hundred years still later, we find the name a common one in the parish. In like manner, the Crowhursts, the Ticehursts, the Heathfields, the Hastingses, the Grinsteads, the Lindfields, the Bexhills, the Bredes, the Ryes, and a host of other plebeian races, still have their principal *habitats* in the vicinity of the places from which they originally sprang, and from which they borrowed their patronymics.

These documents prove, secondly, the almost patriarchal simplicity of manners in this class and locality three hundred years ago. The bequests they contain reveal a state of society hardly advanced in point of refinement beyond that which existed a thousand years ago. Rapid strides had indeed been

made in the interval by the great possessors of the soil ; but among its lowly cultivators a remarkable adherence to an Anglo-Saxon sturdiness, frugality, and simplicity of life, may be inferred from their wills. The *naïveté* with which the testator bequeaths a couple of kine, a frieze doublet, a chair, or a brass "pott," to a child or a brother, is quite refreshing. Money, the earnest love of which among all ranks now produces so many evils, was in those days exceedingly scarce in the class under consideration ; and hence a healthful contentment with the lot assigned them by Providence breathes in the very words in which they make their testamentary arrangements, illustrating the great truth, that real happiness by no means depends upon "the abundance of things that a man possesseth."

THE CUSTUMAL OF PEVENSEY,

AS DELIVERED TO THE LORD WARDEN AT DOVER CASTLE, IN 1356.

BY THE REV. LAMBERT B. LARKING,

VICAR OF RYARSH, KENT.

It was of the first importance that the Lord Warden, as judge of the paramount court of Shepway, should at all times have available evidence, as to the customs and peculiar franchises of the different towns constituting the Five Ports. Appeals from the mayors' courts of these towns to him in his court of Shepway were of constant recurrence, and it is palpable, that, without some such evidence (as of record), conflicting and frequently unjust decisions must have been the result.

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, after the reversal of the judgment on his grandfather, became Warden and constable of Dover. The barons of the Cinque Ports made heavy complaints against their Warden, for encroaching on their rights and privileges. The king, in his precept to Mortimer recited the privileges which had been granted to them, with a command that he should henceforth desist from such oppressions and vexations.¹

Roger de Mortimer, therefore, ordered the mayors of all the towns constituting the Five Ports, to deliver in at Dover Castle copies of all their ancient Custumals, in order that they might be there preserved, as of record, and be available evidence to the lords warden in determining appeals from the courts below.

The present Custumal is undoubtedly the original one, half in Latin and half in French, as here given, which was returned, in 1356, to the Lord Warden, in obedience to these orders. It is from the extensive and valuable collection of ancient muniments at Surrenden, where, some years since, I had the good fortune to discover it, and by the kind liberality of Sir Edward Dering am now enabled to furnish a transcript. The seal is

¹ Rot. Fin. 29^o Edw. III.

unfortunately gone, but the marks where it was placed still remain; it has been cut off by one of those unprincipled, ruthless collectors, who, as long as they can enlarge their own stores, scruple at nothing, destroying the value of charters, or appropriating them with equal heedlessness.

The roll is in good preservation, though in parts somewhat illegible; there are many points in it of great interest, and specially so to the topographer of Sussex. The genuine Saxon spirit which pervades the whole is quite refreshing; I do not remember ever before to have seen any Saxon form of sentencing a criminal to death. How courteous and considerate to the feelings is the gentle "Sir, withdraw, and ax for the priest;" and how coarse and rude, by contrast with it, is, "you shall be taken hence to the place from whence you came, and thence to a place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck till you are dead,"—a sentence fit only for a dog. The scene must have lost half its terrors by this gentle courtesy in announcing the doom of the law; but, deny it who will, our Saxon ancestors were highly civilised, and gentlemen in all they did: why, what a gentlemanly death was that reserved for the privileged burgess, to be slid off the port into the sea. Clarence, and his malmsy butt, is vulgarity itself compared with a "header" down to the "rocks where corals grow:"—

"Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea change
Into something rich and strange;
Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell;"

something more captivating, methinks, than the ribaldry of the dissecting-room. Highly privileged were ye, ye men of Pevensey. "O fortunati sua si bona norint!"

THE CUSTUMAL OF PEVENSEY, 30^o EDW. III.

" ²sunt les usages de la Ville et la Lewec de Peuenese, del temps dont memorie ne court."

1. *Appointment of Bailiff, and his Oath.*—[Imprimis] "quolibet anno, die Lune proxima post festum sancti Michaelis, solet sumoniri tota communitas ville et leucate de Peuenese, tam abbates, milites et alios [sic] magnates terras et tenementa infra libertatem habentes, quam omnes illos [sic] infra predictam libertatem commorantes, et in ecclesia beati Nicholai,

² About three letters torn from the edge of the membrane throughout the first entry.

de [vi]su tocius comunitatis solent eligere unum ballivum qui vocatur Ressevoir, qui quidem ballivus faciet sacramentum super librum, quod fidelitatem portabit comunitati [vill]e, et eam manutenebit secundum suam potestatem, et fideliter denarios quos recipiet expendet, et fidelem compotum inde reddet, si³ Deus ei adjuvat &c. Et ipse Receptor recipiet mandata domini Regis, et Constabularii Castri Dovorr. ac literas Baronum quinque portuum, et omnia alia faciet que ad navigia et servicia quinque portuum pertinent, et non alia."

2. *Appointment of the 12 Jurats, and their Oath.*—"Item, eodem die, ille Receptor eliget sibi xij Juratos de quatuor quarteriis ille leucate, videlicet, de burgagio ville, iij homines, et sic, de singulis quarteriis, iij homines, qui omnes jurabunt quod bene et fideliter predictam comunitatem manutenebunt, et rationabiliter ac juste taxabunt et assedent taxas collecta et schott [*i. e.* "*scots*"] a quolibet, juxta possessiones et quantitatem suam, nulli parcendo, diviti nec pauperi, ut eis Deus adjuvat, &c."

3. *Appointment of Common Clerk, and Oath.*—"Item eodem die Receptor eliget sibi clericum communem qui similiter jurabit, ut bene et fideliter penes comunitatem se portabit, et consilium eorum custodiet, et fidelem compotum faciet, &c."

4. *St. John's Hospital.*—"Item habent homines de burgagio ville de Pevenes quendam [*sic*] hospitalem beati Johannis Baptiste, in qua sunt fratres et sorores habentes terras et possessiones infra leucatam predictam. Et ipse Receptor et homines burgagii predicti habent dispositionem hospitalis predictae, ad concedendum corrodia tam viris quam mulieribus prout poterint concentire, et eos habent visitare et castigare secundum quantitatem. Et unus hominum de dicto burgagio semper erit supervisor illius hospitalis ad supervidendum eorum expensas, et compotum magistri illius hospitalis.

Possunt similiter ipse Receptor et homines, si habeatur homo vel femina in dicto burgagio qui ad inopiam devenerint, et unde vivere non habuerint, et bene per totam vitam se portaverint, illum hominem vel feminam in predictam hospitalem, sustentationem suam in eadem capiendum, vel solvendo pro eadem."⁴

³ Probably for '*sicut*' though not so marked.

⁴ *Sic*, "in p'dcām hospit' sustent' suā ī eadem cap^d ūl soluēdo p' ead."

5. *The Court of the Queen's Steward; Pleas, &c. therein.*—“Item, domina Regina Anglie in dicta villa et leucata habet regalitatem et dominium suum, et senescallus suus tenet Curias, diebus Lune, de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas, et coram eo debent omnia placita teneri, tam placita corone, vite, et membri, quam omnia alia, et fines et recognitiones terrarum et tenementorum, sicut in banco domini Regis. Et sectatores Curie sedebunt juxta Senescallum, et dabunt judicium cujuscunque placeti, set dicetur per os⁵ Et ipsi sectatores taxabunt amerciamenta, videlicet, quemlibet secundum quantitatem debiti; assisæ autem panis et cerevisie, ac mensurarum et ponderum ad dictum senescallum pertinent, et suum officium.”

6. *The Queen's Portereve.*—“Item domina Regina in eadem villa et leucata habet ballivum qui vocatur Portereve, qui annuatim electus est in proxima Curia tenta post festum sancti Michaelis, et hoc per tenentes predictæ Regine dicte leucate qui tenent terram taillable, et est tallagium illud quod solvere tenentur certum per annum viij marce. Et ille Porterevus, per se, vel per servientem suum, qui vocatur Bedel, levare debet et colligere redditus, firmas, tallagia, amerciamenta, et omnes exitus tocus dominice [*sic*] prefate Regine, et inde compotum reddere coram auditoribus, ubi melius ad hoc vacare possunt; et si in arreragio inventus fuerit, et de proprio suo v [“victu”?] reddere non habuerit, omnes illi tenentes qui cum in officium eligerunt pro eo satisficient. Item ille Porterevus, per se, vel per servientem suum, recipiet omnes querelas, tam liberorum quam extraneorum, qui infra libertatem fieri contigerint, et secundum naturam querele, debet attachiare, vel summonire, et dimittere ad plegium, et de illis ad proximam curiam respondere, &c.”

7. *Office of Coroner.*—“Item. En cas de Corone, si home soit trouve mort par aventer, ou ocys par fet dacunuy deyns la franchise en terre ou en ewe, le dit Portreve avera la vewe com Coroner, et il memes par son Bedel fera pays, et prendra l'enqueste; et si ascom soit endite par sele enquest, le portreve demandera as amys del mort sil seuent ascyn vers

⁵ In this and other places, where points are inserted, holes occur in the original.

qil...beyllent (*veyllent*?) pour sur.⁶ et si cely q' est rette del fet soit illeques ou deyns la franchise trouve, le dit portreve le fera attacher et amencer a la prison de la franchise qest appele le Berdes, et illeques sera garde en ceppes par geiller de la dite franchise tanqala proscheigne court, a la qele il estera a la ley, se il se voille mettre, ou a la usages des cynk ports, ceo est assavoir a xxxvj, queux il memes choisera, et fera son panel a son peril, et le delivera as mayns du senescal; et com ils du panel soient demandes, chescun par son nom, si ascun defaille ou ne respeigne mye, le prison soit ajuge a la mort. Et si ils soient tous presents, solcit le senescal de les xxxvi par donner les douze, et les Rescevoir et Jurs de la comunite autr douze, et le Seneschall elirra xij pour la enquest, et si ascun retree mayn del livrer en fre condicion, soi le prison juge a mort, et a de primes le prison jura qil est sans coupe de sele feloniy ou homecyde sil soit, et puis chescom de la enqueste jurra par sci. Et si ils facent lor serment come deyvent faire duement, voyse le dit prison quite, &c."

8. *Form of Sentence of Death*.—"Item, en cas [de jugement] de corone, si home soit ateynt et forfait la vye, le portreve come coroner dirra le jugement, et sera assys juxte le senescal e dirra cestez paroles—S^r. Wyþðnazþe and axe þane Prest.⁷ Et si cely qest dampne soit de la franchise, il sera amene au pount de la ville a la pleigne meer, et outr le pount botu en le havene: Et sil soit del Geldable, sera suspenduz deyns la Lewe en certain lui appelle le Wahstrew."⁸

9. *Pleas of Lands, &c.*—"Item, en ple de terres et de totes maners brefs, forpris novele disseisine et Dowaric, le pleintif al portreve au a son bedel, et dirra ceste fourme. Jeo trouve surete vers un tiel en plee de terres, &c., et apres la secte trouve, le deforssor avera iij essoignez, iij somonces, et iij destresses. Et il [*sic*] ne vene apres le tierce destre pour respondre al demandant, la terre sera pris en la mayn le Roy par sa defalte, et si ele ne soit replevyce deyns les xv jours il pert seisin de

⁶ Beyllent, or veyllent?—"P' sur'," probably for "poursuer," to prosecute. V. note 10.

⁷ S^r. for 'scilicet' or 'Sir.' It is precisely the same letter as in 'S^r le Roy,' infra. I would read it, on consideration, 'Sir, withdraw, and ask for the priest.'

⁸ Of the non-franchise men, then, it may be literally said, that, "Being born to be hung, they will never be drowned."

terre ; et si il ne fait null defaute, il porra demander vewe de terre sil veut, et apres la vewe grante, puit le defforsour estre iij fois essonye en dysant un visus et puis ne pourra le defforsour per noill accion abatre le plee qil ne irra parmy le verdyt de xij jurs."

10. *Manner of conferring Freedom.*—"Item, pount le dit Ressevoir et Jures faire hommes frank de noun fraunk, en tile manere, qe si asceyn homme viene en la Lewe, et demoerye deyns la franchise, hauutant leal artefice, et soit de bone conversacion j an et j jour, et desyre la franchyse, il vendra devant le Recessevoir & Jures en lor assemble, en priant la franchise, et agarde sera illeques comebien il paiera pour la franchise aver. Et puis sera accepte et jure a la franchise, en tiele manere. Jeo porteray foy et leute a Seigneur Roy Dengleterre, et a la comunite de Pevenese, de jour en avant, et lestat de la franchise mayntendrai, et seray lottant et escottant de mes biens et chatels a la comunite, a la quantite qe serai assis, sulon mon poer, &c. Et paiera al lumier de sen Nicholas j^d."

11. *Chase.*—"Item, pount et soleient les.....de la dite franchise de Pevenese, deyns lor dite ffranchise, chasser al leverre et conyns partout en champ over, et pescher et oyseler par terre et par ewe forpris deyns autr en cloos, kar la nath⁹ nullhome affaire sens conge de cely a qi appertient lenclos."

12. *Withernam.*—"Item, si ascoygn homme de la franchise de Pevenese veyne ala cite de Londrs, ou en qele ville, ffaire, ou marche, ou nostre Seigneur le Roy ath p . . . ou seignorie, pour marchandize vendre ou acatre, soit destreynt pour custume, tohel, pichage, panage, stallage, morage, ou asceyn autre manere poynt en contre lor ffranchise. Deyvent les dits Ressevoir et Jures, et soleient mander les lettres a cely qi tiel extorcion lor ath fait, en priaunt qils facent deliverance a lor combaron ses destre ensi pris ; et si ils ne voillent, soit Wythername pris du segneur don . . . il estoit distre, et de son tenant, de jour en autre, tanqil ath fait deliverance de la destre ensy pris, ove les amendes."

13. *Pevensey a Limb of Hastings.*—"Item, cleyment le dit Ressevoir et Jures, et les gens de la dite Comunite de

⁹ i.e. "autrui enclos, car là n'a."

Pevenese, qe sunt membre del port de Hastynge, daver, enjoer, et user les usages qeles lors conbarons de la comunite de Hastynge ount et usent, outre cestes qe si sount esscript; les queux ils ount retourne en le chastel de Dovorr, south lor comun seal, landemayn del sen Michel, lan du regne le Roy Edward tierce puis le conquete Dengleterre xxx^{me}.”

14. *Freemen not to be sworn in Civil Causes.*—“Item, cleymet qe nul Baillif ne peut home de la ffranchise a serment mettre pour plee de terre devant court assis, ne pour autre chose, si ceo ne soit pour plee de Roy, ou pour profite de la comunite, sauns comandement le Roy especyal.”

[In dorso, on a label stitched to the place of the seals, is the address; it is contemporary with the Roll]—“Ss. De Pevenese al Conestable de Chastel de Douvre, gardeyn du v Ports.”

[And, in dorso of the Roll, in a hand t. Eliz.]—“les vj leges de Pevensey.”

SUMMARY.

Every year, on the Monday after Michaelmas day, the community of the ville and lowy of Pevensey, in the church of St. Nicholas, elect the bedle or receiver, who is forthwith sworn. His office is to receive the mandates of the king and the constable of Dovor Castle, and the letters of the barons of the five ports, and to attend to the business of the ships, and services of the five ports, and no other.

On the same day this receiver shall choose twelve jurats, viz. three from the burgesses, and three from each of the other three quarters of the lowy, who shall be sworn to make their assessments, &c., justly, and without favour.

On the same day he shall also choose a common clerk, who shall be duly sworn.

The burgesses have a hospital of St. John Baptist, endowed with lands, &c., in the lowy, for poor brothers and sisters. The receiver and burgesses have the management of it, assigning the corrodies, &c., and one of the burgesses shall always be superintendent thereof, to control the expenses, &c. If a burgess fall into poverty, they may admit him or her, if they

have been of good life and conduct, into the hospital, either boarding them there, or leaving them to pay for their board.

The queen of England has royalty and demesne in this ville and lowy. Her stewards hold her courts on a Monday, from three weeks to three weeks, and all pleas of the crown, of life and limb, &c., must be held before him; and all fines and recognisances of lands, &c., as in the Court of King's Bench. The sectators of the court shall sit near the steward, and give judgment orally, and they shall fix the amerciaments. The assise of bread and ale, weights and measures, &c., belong to the steward's office alone.

The queen also has her bailiff or portreve in the ville and lowy, annually elected at the first court after Michaelmas, by such of her tenants as pay taillage of eight marks per annum. The said portreve collects rents, talliages, amerciaments, &c., and renders account to the auditors. If he be in arrear, the tenants who elected him must make good the deficiency. He also hears all complaints within the liberty, and attaches, summons, or bails to the next court, according to the nature of the case.

If a man be found dead, the portreve has the view, as coroner. He shall summon the country, and hold the inquest. If any one be indicted by the inquest, the portreve shall ask the friends of the deceased if they know any one whom they wish to prosecute,¹⁰ and if the man charged with the crime be found within the franchise, the portreve shall take him to the prison of the franchise, called Le Berdes, and there shall he be kept in the stocks by the gaoler till the next court, where he shall surrender to the law if he will, or to the customs of the five ports, viz. thirty-six chosen by himself. He shall make his panel at his own peril, and deliver it to the steward; and, as they are each called by name, if any fail, or answer not, let the prisoner be adjudged to die; and if all be present, the steward is accustomed to release twelve of the thirty-six, and the receiver and jurats other twelve, and the steward shall

¹⁰ The writing is too much defaced to decide whether it be 'beyllent' or 'veyllent.' The meaning seems to be either as above in the text, or "the portreve shall ask the friends of the deceased if they know any one who will pledge himself to prosecute," or "with whom they are willing to prosecute."

elect twelve for the inquest. If any one refuses to set him free, let the prisoner be adjudged to death; and at the first the prisoner shall swear that he is innocent of the homicide, and then each of the inquest shall swear for himself, and if they all duly take the oath, the prisoner is acquitted.

In judgments of the crown, if a man be condemned to death, the portreve, as coroner, shall pronounce judgment, and, being seated next the steward, shall say, "Sir, retire, and ask for a priest;" and, if the condemned be of the franchise, he shall be taken to the town bridge¹¹ at high water, and drowned in the harbour; but, if he be of the geldable,¹² he shall be hung in the Lowy, at a place called the Wahztrew.¹³

In pleas of lands and writs, except those of nouvelle disseisin and dower, the plaintiff shall go to the portreve, and say, I find suit against such an one in a plea of lands, &c. The deforceor shall have three essoigns, three summonses, and three distresses, and if he come not after the third distress to answer the demandant, the land shall be in the king's hands by his default; and if he do not replevyn in fifteen days, he loses seisin; and, if he make no default, he may demand a view of the land, and, after the view, he may be three times essoigned in asking a view; and after that, the deforceor shall not by any action be able to abate the plea that he will not go according to the verdict of twelve jurors.

If any man come into the Lowy, and live within franchise, following a legal craft, and be of good conversation, for a year and a day, and is desirous of the franchise, he shall attend a meeting of the receiver and jurats, and shall be prepared for what he will have to pay for the franchise; and then he shall be admitted on taking this oath: "I will bear faith and loyalty to our lord the king of England, and to the commonalty of Pevensay, from this day forth; I will maintain the state of the franchise, and will pay scot and lot of my goods and chattels to the commonalty, according to the quantity at which I shall be assessed, according to my power," &c.; and he shall pay to the light of St. Nicholas 1*d*.

¹¹ Query, the pier.

¹² Those not of the franchise, and therefore liable to taxes.

¹³ This is called Vash-Treive in the Burrell MSS., quoted in Parry's *Coast of Sussex*, p. 262, where an imperfect abstract of this Custumal is given.

The burgesses may hunt hares and rabbits in their franchise in unenclosed ground, and fish and fowl by land or water, but not in enclosures, without leave of the owner.

If any freeman of Pevensey come to London, or any town, fair, or market, where the king has seignory, in order to traffic, and be distrained for toll, pickage, &c., or in any other manner against their franchise, the receiver and jurats demand letters to him who has been guilty of the extortion, requesting release of the distress to their combaron; if they refuse, let wythernam be taken against the lord by whom he was distrained, or his tenant, from day to day, till the distress be returned, with costs.

They claim to be a limb of Hastings.

They claim that no freeman can be put to his oath by any bailiff for plea of land, &c., other than the king's plea, or for the good of the commonalty, without the special command of the king.

As a specimen of how the Custumal was observed, an extract may be given from "an Inquisition taken at Wynchelsea on the sea-shore," on May 9th, 1443, when the jury report that

"A porpoise had been found on the sea, and that the admiral's share was 2s. 9d.; that John Broker and Richard Colyer, of Pevensey, had found a boat (with a piece of kersey, and a short coat with black lamb-skins, value altogether 40s., and three men, the king's enemies), three years before, but had in no way accounted for them to the admiral, they are fined 6s. 8d. each; the jury also report that these men had been lately indicted for these offences, without the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports; they also say that William Alman, bailiff of Pevensey, had annulled and set at nought very many diverse mandates of the lord admiral of the Cinque Ports, directed, sent, and delivered to him, and had wholly refused to put them into execution, to the contempt of the lord admiral, and to the serious prejudice of the court of the admiral of the said ports." (From the original Inquis. among the Surrender MSS.)

APSLEY MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,

IN THE POSSESSION OF MRS. MABBOTT.

- I.—Letters of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and her sons, Princes Frederick and Rupert, to Lady Apsley and Lady Morton.
II.—Letters from Lady Apsley, and to her from Lady Dorset, Joseph Mead, Richard Hoper, and others.
III.—Letters of Richard Evelyn (father of John), to William Newton.
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ARRANGED, WITH NOTES, AND READ AT THE ALFRISTON MEETING, OCTOBER, 1850,
BY W. H. BLAAUW, ESQ.

THE first wife of William Newton, Esq., of Southover, who died in 1648, at the age of 84, was Jane Apsley, sister of Sir Edward Apsley, of Thakeham, where his family had been long settled, and where many monumental records still remain. By this tie of kindred, a considerable number of MSS. papers and letters to and from Elizabeth, Lady Apsley (daughter of Edward Elmes, Esq., of Northamptonshire), have descended to their present possessor.

Mrs. Hutchinson, who, as a widow, wrote the well-known memoirs of her husband the colonel, was Lucy, the younger daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower under K. Charles I, and thus speaks of the importance and extended connexions of her family in Sussex, with a pride we should not expect from her puritanical bias. She died in 1659.

“My grandfather, by the father’s side, was a gentleman of competent estate, about £700 or £800 in Sussex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence at a place called Pulborough: the family out of which he came was an Apsley of Apsley,¹ a towne where they had been seated before the Conquest, and ever since continued, till of late the last heire male of that eldest house, being the sonne of Sir Edward Apsley, is dead, without issue, and his estate gone, with his sister’s daughters, into other famelies. . . . It had bene such a continued custome for my ancestors to take wives at home, that there was not scarce a famely of any note in Sussex, to which they were not by intermarriages neerly related.” (Memoirs, p. 8.)

The connections of the Apsley family, as above alluded to, may be best seen by the following portion of their Pedigree: those mentioned in the text are marked in *italics*.

¹ Apsley Farm, in the parish of Thakeham.

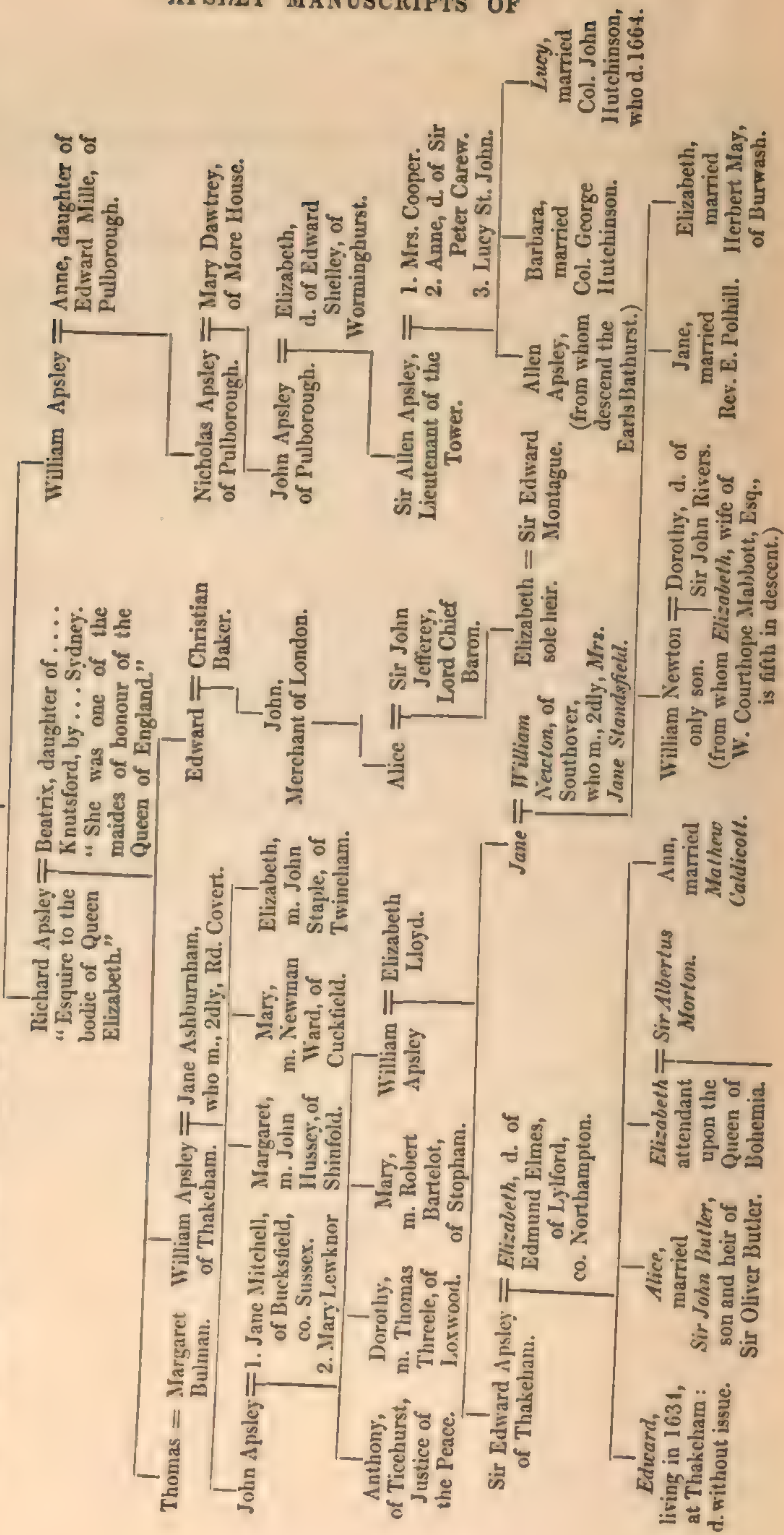
Visitation of Sussex, 1633—1634.

Harl. MSS., 1076, 1562, 6164.

Arms of Apsley:—argent 3 bars gules,
a canton ermine.

Crest:—a fleur-de-lis or, between 2 wings arg.

JOHN APSLEY.



A selection from the most interesting of these papers has been now made (reserving to a future opportunity others relating to the civil wars), as illustrating in some degree the manners of the times, and as referring to Sussex families, but it has also been thought allowable to admit the familiar letters of the interesting and unfortunate English princess, Elizabeth the Electress Palatine, who, when she had taken refuge at the Hague, in 1621, after her brief royalty in Bohemia, corresponded with Lady Apsley, whose daughter, Elizabeth, Lady Morton, was in her service, before she became the wife of Sir Albertus Morton, secretary of state to King James I, and ambassador to the United Provinces in 1625.

I.

During the fierce war in the Palatinate, Lady Apsley anxiously watched the fortunes of the war, and thus earnestly petitioned for her daughter's return to England.

"Most gracious Quene,—Your acostemed faſiorable hearin makes me presum thus farre to relate my joye in hearing of your sauef delivery of a fourth sonn,² which God bles with the rest; among so many reports to the contrary, and your great journey, wherby you see Godes blesed providence to be the safest keper, both to gret and small, and all: though it plesed not God to give your worthy king the first victoary, I hope in Godes great mercyes he will the last, to his comfort and the good of his church: and nowe it hath plesed God to make your maigesty a mother of so many swet children, and som of them nowe so far from you, I presum most humbly to intreat you will be plesed to thinke of an old womones afection to your old servant, howes ritourn for England I hartly wish, when your maigesty is plesed to part with her; and thus, with her that hath hithertowe desired my desier herein, to your best liking, which I shall desier to here of. I most humbly take my leve, beseching God his blesed providence may ever be on you and youres, and rest your maigestyes to be commanded.

"Febrary viith

"ELIZABETH APSLEY."

The next letter, though without date or direction, appears to have been written at the Hague, in 1621, to Lady Apsley, in some respects answering the one above.

"Good Madame,—I thank you verie much for your last, which I receaved being in the High Palatinat, which I could not answeare by reasone of my travelling up and doune till my comming hither: the diferance you writ of betweene Schonberg and your daughter is true, but I assure you that Apsley gave no such cause of offence as needed to have bene taken so hainously, having onely defended her right; as for me it did not trouble me much, because I was resolved not lett Apsley have no wrong, nor will suffer it as

² This fourth son became afterwards well known in England, as Prince Maurice: he was born 1620, died 1654.

long as I live, although I love Schonberg³ verie well, yett (*if*) she does ill, she is not to be excused no more than anie other; as for your daughter, I should be verie loth to lett her goe, she serves me so faithfullie and willinglie as I trust none so much as shee, and I will ever do for her as much as I can; I hope one day to bring her and my self to you in to England, then you shall see how much she is mended, for she is now a little broader than she is long, and speaks French so well as she will make one forswear that tounge to heare her, her nose will be in time a little longer, for my little one doth pull hard at it; as for Dutch Bess⁴ Sudly caries it, mouth and all, but neare a count will byte yet, although wee would faine have them. I am sure Thom. Lewinstons wif tell you manie newes, but doe not trust her, for a matter that I know; it will be to long for me to tell it you, but I have tolde your daughter. I end, desiring you to beleve that will ever be as I am,

“Your constant friend, ELIZABETH.”

The following is directed “to the Ladie Apsley,” and on the green silk which fastened it, there still remain two impressions of the queen’s seal, most beautifully cut, and, though not larger than a 4*d.* piece, exhibiting distinctly the numerous quarterings of her husband’s arms and her own.⁵

“Good Madame,—I give you manie thankses for your kinde letter to me and tokens to my children; you have putt yourself to too much paynes about them, for I assure you without that, you nor your daughter, my deare servant, shoulde never be forgotten by us, and those tokens they shall ever keep for both your sakes. I am verie well content that your daughter, my Ladie Butler, shall keep my picture, it cannot be in a better place. I pray commend me both to her and him, whom I verie well remember heere. I shall ever be readie to (*do*) them all the good I can, both for your dear daughters sake and yours to whom I ame ever,

“I pray weare this small token
for my sake, which is to assure you
of my constant love.

“Your true affectionate frend,
“ELIZABETH.”

“The Hagh, this 2d of August.”

³ ‘*Schonberg*’ was probably the widow of John Mainhardt, Count de Schonberg (who died in 1619), father of the celebrated marshal, killed at the Boyne. He had been the elector’s ambassador to James I, to negociate his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, and this led to his own marriage with Anne, daughter of Edward, Baron Dudley, the lady alluded to, who may have presumed upon her superior rank.

⁴ There being no other indications to explain who *Dutch Bess* and her rival *Sudly* were, it can only be conjectured that they were young ladies about the court, anxious for husbands.

⁵ The Society is much indebted to our member, W. S. Walford, Esq., for the following blazon of these coats: Quarterly, 1. Gu. a lion rampant with double queue in saltier arg. crowned or, *Bohemia*. 2. Per pale; on dexter side sa. a lion rampant or, crowned, langued, and armed gu., *Palatinate*; on sinister, fusilly in bend arg. and az., *Bararia*; enté en pointe gu. an imperial monde or, *High Steward of the Empire*. 3. Or, an eagle displayed crowned sa. charged with a crescent ensigned with a croisette arg., *Silesia*. 4. Az. an eagle displayed chequy arg. and gu., *Moravia*. 5. Az. a wall (pan de muraille) or, masonnée sa., *Upper Lusatia*. 6. Arg. an ox passant gu., its belly of the field, *Lower Lusatia*. Impaling quarterly, 1 and 4 France and England quarterly. 2. Scotland. 3. Ireland.

The two following letters are from the two young princes, both written in schoolboy's hands, and apparently as thanks for the "tokens" alluded to in the preceding letter. Being written after Lady Morton's return to England, they were all probably a few years later in date. Prince Frederick Henry, the eldest son (born 1614), was a youth at this time, and was drowned at Harlaem, in 1629, in his 15th year. The well-known Prince Rupert was the third son, born 1619, and at this time could write but imperfectly, using ruled lines to help him.

The same small seal was used by both, displaying two pipes within chaplets interlaced, resembling the Greek letters $\phi \phi$.

"Madame,—By this I will onely give you thanks for your last letter, for captain who now caeth upon me, and hath promised to see this delivered to your handes, maketh such haste away, that I can only wish you health and comfort, and to rest assured that I am

"Your most affectionate frend,

(*Direction outside*) "To my Lady Morton." "FREDERICK HENRY."

"Madame,—I could not suffer this yo' servant to depart from hence, without returneing my hartie thanks for the kinde tokens of your love, and my Ladie Morton's affection towards mee, assuring you that I shall not [*forget*, hole in MS.] her memorie and remaine

"Yo very affectionate frend,

(*Direction outside*) "To the Lady Apseley." "RUPERT."

There is no direction to the next letter, which retains two impressions of the royal arms, as before described, on the pink silk fastenings. It bears witness to the zeal with which the princess adopted her husband's interests.

"Sir,—Hearing that you are designed to goe ambassador into France, I must become a suitor to you to do me the courtesy to take a young man into your service, whom I had recommended to Sir Albertus Morton, when he was appoynted for the same employment. He is sonne to Doctor Camerarius, a counsellor to the king my husband, who hath beene careful to give him such education that I hope he may be of some use to you, and I am sure you shall do a great charity in helping to perfect the same by affording him this opportunity to see the worlde without much charge to his father, who is not able to beare that, having lost all he had for his fidelity to his master. In which respect I cannot but be willing to do anything I can for him, and if I may do this by your means, I shall have an obligation to you and shall be ready to acquit it in any occasion I may have to show my selfe,

"Your most assured frend,

"Haghe, $\frac{6}{16}$ March."

"ELIZABETH."

The next retains one impression of the royal arms on yellow silk, and is addressed outside "To Sir Albert Morton."

"My honest Morton, though I have little to say to you yett I must write

to you by this gentleman; you shall know by him how the Palatinat growes worse and worse, and when it is at the worst I hope God will mend it. I see by your sweethartes letter that you are still my honest Morton, and assure yourself that I am ever

"Your most constant frend,

"I pray commend me to Nethersole and
bid him gett his dispatch as soon as he can.

"ELIZABETH."

"The Hagh, this $\frac{8}{18}$ of May."

The familiarity with the wife of her "honest Morton" is curiously shewn in the next letter, by the princess having erased the word *lady*, as too formal an address, and though directed externally "To the ladic Morton" and sealed with the royal arms, she calls her "deare Apsley," in which name she had first known her in her service. The letter seems to refer to the rejection of a suitor for one of the family.

"Deare *Lady* [*erased in original MS.*] Morton, I did receave your letter, ame glad you are so well recovered of your sickness, for I woulde [*not*] have your wish of dying come to you, I love you well to be willing to lose you; if you can gett anything by my help I am glad of it, for truelie I will ever doe for you all I can; and for the answeare you give me concerning Ned Harwood, it is a verie good one, you could not have made a better, for though he be a verie honest man, yett I doe not think him good enough for you: what I writt was at his request, as you saw by the letter I sent you, and now there is an end of it; the king beeing by when I write this commends his love to you, and so doe I to your good mother; Liddal goeth away in so weak hart I cannot say no more, by the next you shall have a longer letter; in the meane I ame ever, deare Apsley,

"Your true constant frend,

"The Hagh, this $\frac{1}{11}$ of November."

"ELIZABETH."

II.

It will be observed that, at this period, there seems to have been no rule for orthography observed, even in letters written by persons of high station. Both Lady Apsley's and Lady Dorset's, which follow, refer to match-making, which seems to have been an active occupation of the ladies.

(*Address outside*) "To hir honored and much respected frend, Sir Charles Mountigue, give this."

"Honored Sir,—Your former fafoures and now ancent aquentance makes me thus troublsom, as by thes lines to desier your kind fourdrance in a buisenes betwen the Lady Wilde and me, beginin by the minister in her houses report, hath bine such, as I desier a proceeding with her in a mach between her eldest daughter and my sonn: as I shall fourder relat to you at my coming over, and for the stert, this biarer, if your lisiuir will serve, can justly relate unto you, and douting to be troublesom, with my best remem-

brance to your selfe and lady, I take my lieif, committing you and ous all to
Godes blesed proviedence and rest, "Your afectionat frende,

"November the first."

"ELIZABETH APSLEY."

(Lady Apsley's seal to many of her letters exhibit her husband's crest, a fleur-de-lis or between 2 wings arg.)

"Anne Dorset," who signs the following letter, so kindly giving Lady Apsley a bad gown, was the celebrated Anne Clifford, daughter of the earl of Cumberland, married in 1608 to Richard Sackville, earl of Dorset, who died in 1624, and, in 1630, Anne was remarried to Philip Herbert, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery: she died in 1675.

"To my assured good Cossen, the Ladey Appsey, this—

"Good Cossen,—I pray youc sende mee the leter which my lord writ to you about the mach beetwene Matte and my cossen Ane. Of my fath you shall have them sasley returned, ether to morroe or nexte day. I have sente you a gone of mine, though it be but a vercy baddon, yet I knoe my cossen will were it for my sake, to whether of your daughtres you will bee stoe it upone, I shall bee well plesed. These in hast, I rest your most assured frind and cossen,

"ANNE DORSET."

(On the seal, a crest—a lion rampant, below an earl's coronet.)

The cousinship alluded to by Lady Dorset arose from Henry Shelley, of Worminghurst, a brother of John Apsley, of Pulborough, having married Ann, daughter and heir of Richard Sackville, of Chipsted, county of Surrey.

There is a letter from Richard earl of Dorset, addressed "To my verie loveing servant, Mathias Caldicott, give these," being the "Matte" of whose match the countess speaks in her letter. He appears to have resided in Dorset house, and was of the Caldecott family, long settled at Sherington, in the parish of Selmeston; he married Ann, a daughter of Sir Edward and Lady Apsley. There are letters from the latter, addressed to him as her "sonn," in 1619, about purchasing Worminghurst for her. Lady Apsley, when in London, lodged at a tailor's, in Shoe Lane, many letters remaining superscribed with the following specimen of bathos.

"To the right worshipful and worthy lady, the Lady Elizabeth Apsley, these. Deliver this letter to Mr. John Carter, taylour, in Shoe Lane, hard by the Beare and Dog."

Two letters from Joseph Mead, "from Christ College, in Cambridge," refer to Lady Apsley's son being under his care, but there seems little anxiety in master or pupil to meet.

"Madam,—Mine owne journeying being ended, and Sturbridg faire past, and

so all danger gone, which might be through the one by want of an overseer, or through the other by danger of the worst fashions usuall in such a confluence, I woulde desire you now to retorne your son as soon as conveniently you can. I expected him on Saturday was sevenight, since which time I have been continually at home, but it seemeth your ladyship stayed first to heare first from us at Cambridg, which moved me to write at this present. If your man may bring any money with him he shall have a bill of the expenses and an account what is already due, and what wil be sufficient to furnish us for the quarter following. Thus with my best service commended to your ladyship, I rest

"Your ladyship's most ready to be commanded,

"From Christ Coll. in
Cambr., Sept. 22."

"JOSEPH MEAD."

(Seal, arms, 3 cinquefoils.)

"Madam,—I am sorry that my letters came so late unto your ladyship. It was no fault of mine, but of those into whose hands they fell by the way. Your token I receive with my best thanks to your son with promise of my greatest care. For his returning againe at Christmas, his so late and long non-residence from his book will make it not so convenient. It may be at Easter, as the season is more pleasant so the time wilbe fitter. And thus with my best service remembred to your ladyship, I take my leave resting

"Your ladyship's most ready to be commanded,

"Christ Coll. Oct. 20."

"JOSEPH MEAD."

The following letter describes the difficulties not only of collecting news from the continent, in the midst of important wars, but also of sending a letter from London to Lady Apsley's house at Worminghurst, in Sussex. The writer, John Hoper, lived in London, at Saffron Hill, not far from her ladyship's favourite place of resort in Shoe Lane. His opinion on the restrictions to prevent country gentlemen coming up to London, was current even among the statesmen of his time.

"To my honored good ladie, the Lady Apsley, at Worminghurst, in Sussex.

"Worthie Ladie,—Excuse my mouth, I pray you, and impute not to me my long negligence, for which I have worthilie deserved your censure. I thank God my health and willingnes to write is not wanting, but the waie is so far distant from my house to the inne where the carier lodgeth, as that it taketh up two hours in these short daies before he can retourne, by whom I send my lettres, yet notwithstanding I will not fail to present my service to your ladyship at some one tyme or other, as a fitt occasion shall be offred. When it shall please your ladyship to write, if so you be in health, it will much rejoyce me, that after long affliction it hath pleased God to send you peace and rest. I acknowledge myself much beholden to your good daughter the Lady Boteler,⁴ from whom my wife hath received of late no small curtesies. If it shall lye in me to deserve them, she shall not fynde me ungratefull, but ready to requite them. His majestie so much desirith the good

⁴ Alice Apsley married Sir John Butler, son of Sir Oliver Butler, of Teston, co. Kent, knt.

and welfare of his poore subjects in the country, as that by his proclamacions, and a late censure of £1000 in the Star Chamber, upon one Mr. Palmer, of Parham,⁵ in Sussex, he sheweth his displeasure against such gentlemen as, having mansion-houses in the country, to enrich themselves, also hyre chambers in this citie, to the great hinderance of the poore, that ought to be relieved and holpen with foode and sustenance at their gates; if this course shall be well observed for a few years, that gentlemen (except in Terme tymes, and then also must leave their families behind them) shall keepe at their houses in the countrie, poore people will be much relieved, and hoped also that the countrie will be much better governed than it hath bene. Our wonted coranters (*newspapers*), whereby we have been advertised of affaires in Germany and other foreigne parts have been forbidden to be printed for these five or six weeks, for what cause we know not; yet at some tymes, by letters sent to our merchants from their factors, wee gett some knowledge in what estate matters stande there. The kyng of Sweden [*Gustarus Adolphus*] (notwithstanding the emprour's great army, under the leading of the Duke of Walsteyer) [*Wallenstein*], loaseth nothing of what he had formerly gayned in Germany, but keepeth with strong garrisons the same, without losse to them or revolt of the townes in the which they reside. If it shall please God to preserve the king⁶ in health, there is great hope that he will force the emprour, in short tyme, to receive any condicions of peace that shall be offred. And so not having wherewith further to trouble your ladyship at this present, with my service to you, humbly recomended, not forgetting the like from my wife, I comend your ladyship to God his most blessed protection, alwaies remayning

"From London,
the 23 of Nov. 1632."

Your ladyship's, to serve you,

"RIC. HOPER."

The arms on the seal, "sable, a chevron between three pomegranates or," appear on the certificate, by the Lancaster Herald, of Richard Hoper's death, in 1635. He owned several manors in Shropshire, and left a numerous family, by his wife, Pentecost Legge, daughter of Richard Legge, the Remembrancer for Ireland to Queen Elizabeth. The fifth son was grandfather to John Hoper, who held the living of Steyning, and thereby introduced the family into Sussex.

One letter, of no interest in itself, from John Gordon to Mr. Thomas Sutton, dated "Basarjak, Dec. 31, 1717," must have slipt into the lady's portfolio by some accident, it being concluded by a recipe for a malady which we may hope she never felt.

"P. S.—Si tibi caput sit egrotum with drinking late at night,
Surge mane, cape potum, long before daylight;
Take a hot bowl in your hand, viriliter with might,
And drink it off totaliter for clearing of your sight."

⁵ Parham however had been sold, by the Palmers, to Sir T. Bishopp, forty years before this date.

⁶ Though the news had not reached the writer, owing to the non-arrival of the "coranters," the king of Sweden was at this time dead, having been killed Nov. 6, 1632.

III.

The second wife of the same William Newton, Esq., of Southover, mentioned at the head of this article, was the widow, Mrs. Standsfield, maternal grandmother of the celebrated John Evelyn. She died in 1650. Two letters, addressed to Mr. Newton, by her son-in-law Richard Evelyn, show the affectionate terms on which they lived, and tally with the account given by John Evelyn himself of his own education at Lewes. It seems extraordinary that a gentleman of £4000 a-year should have sent his son to a small charity school at Lewes, where indeed he seems to have learnt little.

Extracts from Memoirs of John Evelyn, pp. 3, 4.

“ My father, named Richard, was of a sanguine complexion, mixed with a dash of choler; low of stature, but very strong. So exact and temperate, that I have heard that he had never been surprised by excess, being ascetic and sparing. He was a person of that rare conversation, that upon frequent recollection, and calling to mind passages of his life and discourse, I could never charge him with the least passion or inadvertence. His estate was esteemed £4000 per annum, well wooded and full of timber. My mother’s name was Elianor,⁷ sole daughter and heyresse of John Standsfield, Esq. of an antient and honorable family (though now extinct) in Shropshire, by his wife, Elianor Comber, of a good and well-known house in Sussex.

“ 1624.—I was not initiated into any rudiments till I was four years of age, and then one Frier taught us at the church-porch of Wotton.

“ 1625.—I was this year sent by my father to Lewes, in Sussex, to be with my grandfather Standsfield, with whom I passed my childhood. This was the year in which the pestilence was so epidemical that there died in London 5000 a week; and I well remember the strict watches and examinations upon the ways as we passed.

“ 1627.—My grandfather Standsfield dyed this year, on 5th Feb. I remember the solemnity at his funeral. He was buried in the parish church of All Souls, where my grandmother, his second wife, erected a monument. About this time was the consecration of the church of South Malling, near Lewes, the building whereof was chiefly procured by my grandfather, who, having the impropriation, gave £20 a year out of it to this church. I afterwards sold the impropriation. I layd one of the first stones at the building of the church, which was consecrated by Bishop Field, bishop of Oxford, the sermon being preached by Mr. Coxhall, afterwards minister there.

“ It was not till the yeare 1628 that I was put to learne my Latine rudiments, and to write, of one Citolin, a Frenchman, in Lewes. I was put to schoole to Mr. Potts, in the Cliffe, at Lewes; and, in 1630, from thence to the Free Schole at Southover, neere the town, of which one Agnes Morley had

⁷ Eleanor Standsfield was born near Lewes, Nov. 17, 1598, married Richard Evelyn (who survived her), and died Sept. 29, 1635.

been the foundresse, and now Edward Snatt⁸ was the master, under whom I remained till I was sent to the University. This yeare my grandmother (with whom I sojourned) being married⁹ to one Mr. Newton, a learned and most religious gent, we went from the Cliff to dwell at his house in Southover.

"Oct. 16, 1632.—I was soon afterwards sent for into Surrey, and my father would willingly have weaned me from my fondness of my too indulgent grandmother, intending to have placed me at Eaton, but I was so terrified at the report of the severe discipline there, that I was sent back to Lewes, which perverseness of mine I have since a thousand times deplored. I returned on the 16th August, 1633, back to Lewes.

"1634.—My father was appointed sheriff for Surrey and Sussex, before they were disjoyned: he had 116 servants in liverys, every one livery'd in greene satin doublets; divers gentlemen and persons of quality waited on him in the same garbe and habit, which at that time (when 30 or 40 was the usual retinue of the high sheriff) was esteemed a great matter. Nor was this out of the least vanity that my father exceeded (who was one of the greatest decliners of it), but because he could not refuse the civility of his friends and relations, who voluntarily came themselves, or sent in their servants. But my father was afterwards most unjustly and spitefully molested by that jeering judge, Richardson,¹⁰ for reprieving the execution of a woman, to gratifie my lord of Lindsay, then admiral; but out of this he emerged with as much honour as trouble.

"April 3, 1637.—I left schoole, where, till about the last yeare, I had been extreamly remisse in my studies; so as I went to the University rather out of shame of abiding longer at schoole, than for any fitnessse, as by sad experience I found, which put me to re-learne all that I had neglected, or but perfunctorily gained."

The letters of Richard Evelyn are sealed with his arms, and are thus addressed outside—

(Seal of red wax, arms—a griffin: on a chief 3 cinquefoils.)

(*Direction outside*)—"To the right worshipful his very lovinge ffather, William Newton, Esq., at his house in Southover, give these, near Lewes."

"Sire,—You maye please to remember that I lefte £20, with my cossen your sonn, when I was with you, in parte for my mother's Christmas rente

⁸ "Long afterwards Mr. Evelyn paid great respect to this gentleman, as appears by his letters."

⁹ Although in Berry's Sussex Pedigrees the second wife of William Newton appears as Mrs. Evelyn, yet the context agrees better with the supposition of her being John Evelyn's *maternal* grandmother, Jane (who died Dec. 10, 1650), the widow of John Standsfield (who died Feb. 23, 1626). These dates remain on the monument in All *Saints'* Church, Lewes, alluded to by John Evelyn as All *Souls*. George Evelyn (the father of Richard and of 23 other children, by his two wives, "*repetito non infelici delectu matrimonio*," as his tombstone records,) died in 1603, æt. 73, leaving as his widow Joan Stint, who died on March 9, 1613, and was buried at Wotton. Mrs. Newton therefore could not have been John Evelyn's *paternal* grandmother. Neither the pedigrees in Aubrey, or Manning and Bray's Surrey, or in Evelyn's Memoirs, or in the Surrey Visitations, in the Harl. MSS., 1397, f. 127, f. 151 b.—1433, f. 105—1561, f. 66,—or in the Sussex Visitations, 6162, or 6164, f. 13, authorise the marriage of any Mrs. Evelyn to Mr. Newton.

¹⁰ Richardson, then chief justice of the King's Bench, was owner of Starborough Castle, in Lingfield.

and £22. 2s. 6d. Mr. Shother is to paye you, about Twelvetyde [*Twelfth-night*], which I hope he will doe accordingly, and £2. 17s. 6d. more I have now sent to make upp your Christmas rent. I presume Mr. Shuther will not fayle you. However it shal be no losse to you, for if he paye not, I must and will see it payde; in the mean tyme I praye a recyte of this bother £20, in parte of payment for your Christmas rent.

"I have also sent £5 for my sonn's board, and xxs. for their schole master for this Christmas quarter, and desyre you to speake to theire master to take what paynes he cann with them to make them schollers.

"So hopinge you are all in good health, and givinge you and my mother many thanks for my keinde enterteynement; with my best respects and service to you both, and my love to your sonn, not forgettinge the good old gentle-woman your sister, and my little cossen Keate whose health I shal be glad to hear of, and rest

"Your very lovinge son,

"Wotton, 15^o Dec. 1636.

"RICHARD EVELYN.

"I heare nothinge of Mr. Tilney about the reparacions of South Mallinge; therefore I purpose to proscede against him as soone as I cann."

"To the right worshipful his very lovinge ffather,¹¹ William Newton, Esq., at his house in Southover, give these, neere Lewes.

"Worthie Sire,—I appoynted my man, Thomas Webb, to leave £20 with my mother, when he payd your last Michaelmas rent, in parte for your next Christmas rent, (which I hope he did accordingly,) and Mr. Shother is to paye you £22. 2s. 6d. more, at your sessions at Twelfetide (for my rent) as heretofore he hath done: the rest being £2. 17s. 6d. I have now sent you, which (if Mr. Shother payd) will be in full for your next Christmas rent; but if he should fayle to paye that money, I will forthwith uppon the first notice send it to you.

"Also I have appoynted him to paye for my sonn's Christmas quarter.

"I am sorry Mr. Tinley and Mr. Maskall make me be so troublesom to you. I willed my mann to desyre your advise and directyons in his busines there (if there weare any cause), for which favor (as for many other) I must remaine your debtor; I have not latly heard from my mann what hath bene done since Mrs. Maskall's last comminge into the countrey, but I hope they wil be better advised, then doe as they have threatned. I appoynted my mann to gett som workemen to surveive the reparacions before his comminge home, wherein I desyre your advice and directions also. So hopinge you and my mother with all the rest are in good health, givinge you both many thanks for your love and kindness alwayes to my children, with my best respects and service remembred, I rest

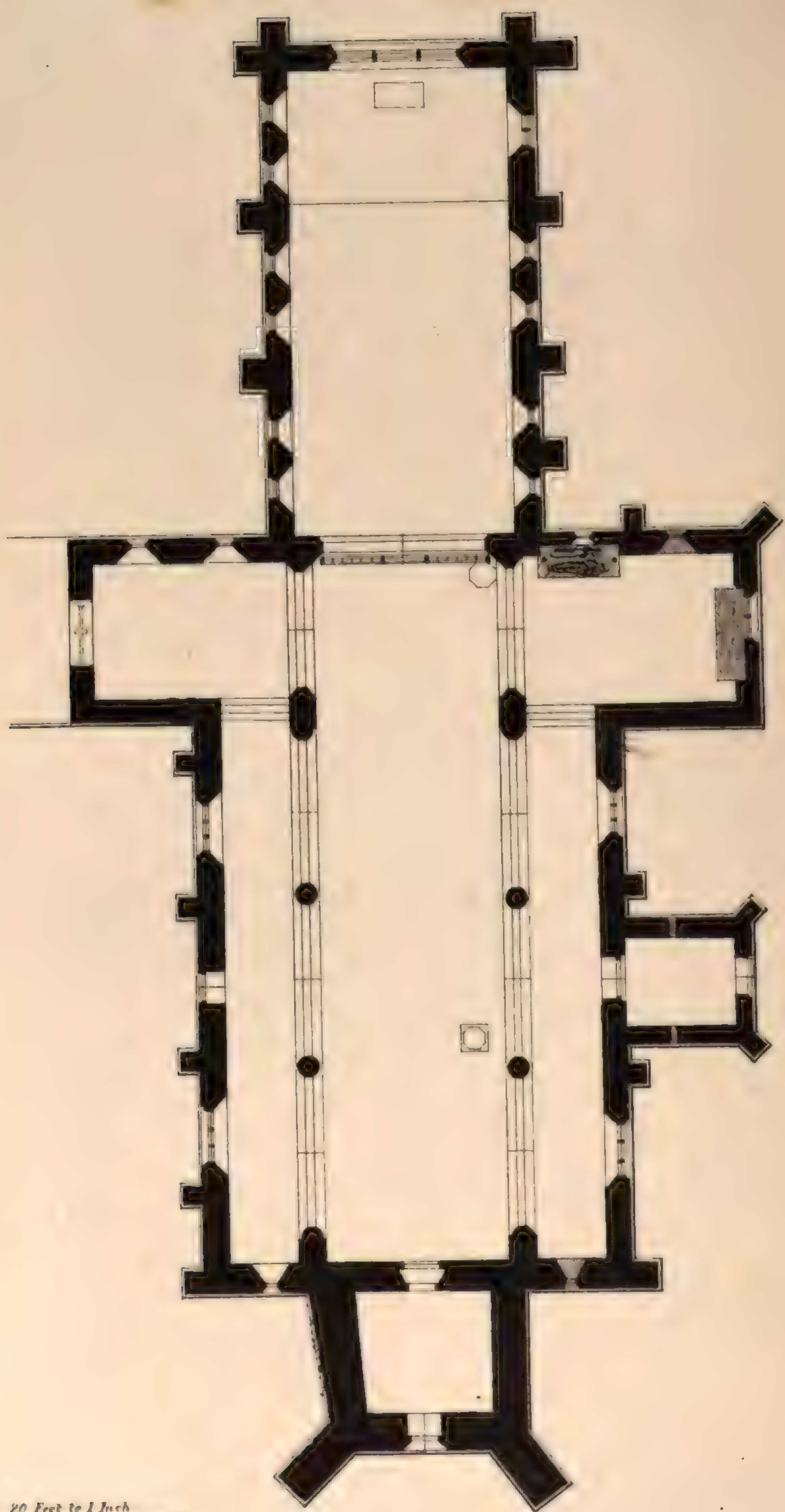
"Your very lovinge sonne,

"Wotton, 14^o Dec. 1637.

"RICHARD EVELYN.

"My daughter presents her duties to you."

¹¹ A very fond term for the husband of his mother-in-law, whom he here speaks of as his mother. His own mother had been long dead.



GROUND PLAN OF FLETCHING CHURCH SUSSEX.

FLETCHING, PARISH AND CHURCH.

BY THE REV. SPENCER DODD WILDE, VICAR.

THE Parish of Fletching,—variously written, in old time, Flexnernge (Matt. Paris), Flescinges (Doomsday Record), Flesang, Flescunge, Flecchyng,—stretches from within two miles of Uckfield for seven miles in a north-westerly direction, having an extreme breadth of about half that distance. Its outline is not unlike that of England and Wales. It contains, by a late measurement, 8463 acres, a large portion of which is still wood and waste, and has a scattered population of rather above 2000.¹ The woodland scenery and the distant views of the South Downs are extremely picturesque and beautiful.

FLETCHING is little known to fame, and the memorials of the past, worth preserving, are few. How indeed could it be otherwise, lying as it does in the midst of the great wood of Anderida, described by Camden as anciently “scarce anything besides a desert and vast wilderness, not planted with towns nor peopled with men, but stuffed with herds of deer and droves of hogs only.” According to Doomsday, when the manor of “Flescinges” was held by the earl of Morton, the number of the population may be surmised by the record that, “there were six acres of meadow, and a wood affording mast for xxx hogs. The arable was five plough lands.”

History records only one noticeable event,—that the barons’ forces lay “at the village of Flexnernge” (Matt. Paris), under Simon de Montfort, their leader, the night before the battle of Lewes in 1264.

The manor of Danehill-Sheffield, so called to distinguish it from that of Danehill-Horsted-Keynes, after passing through the hands of the Bardolf family, the lords of Buckhurst, the earls of Abergavenny and De la Warre, appears, as well as

¹ 1914 in 1841.

its greater namesake in Yorkshire, represented in the title of the present owner, by whose father, the first earl of Sheffield, it was purchased.

FLETCHING PARISH CHURCH, dedicated to S. Andrew and S. Mary, stands in the centre of the village, and its lofty and graceful spire forms a conspicuous and beautiful object to the country around. It possesses many features of architectural and antiquarian interest, as will be seen from the subjoined description. It has, however, little monumental interest; while the rude hands of reformers or of roundheads, or, perhaps, of both, have evidently despoiled it internally of much of its ancient decorative beauty, while externally the churchwardens' economical repairs of the last century have destroyed much of its ecclesiastical appearance and proportions, by carrying the roof of the nave, in one unbroken ugly sheet of Horsham stone and tile, over the aisles, thus hiding from view the clerestory windows. There is one very fine brass, in the south transept, which, though now without date or inscription, is probably that of Sir (Walter?) Dalyngrugge and his lady. He appears, in the latter part of the 15th century, to have held manors or estates in Fletching and some adjoining parishes. It is not necessary to describe it here, as a woodcut of it has been already given in these *Collections* (vol. II, p. 309).² In the same transept is a handsome Elizabethan monument, in marble, of Richard Leche, Esq. and "Charitye his wife," recumbent, under a canopy; he died in 1596. An inscription on the upper part informs us that it was erected by the lady, to her husband *posthumously*, to herself *prospectively*. "In regarde" to his having "given all his landes in this countye of Sussex," to her, "having no issue of his bodye livinge," "and for a perpetual memorye of divers other charitable deedes he willed should be done, shce of her owne accorde caused this monument to be made, and herselfe livinge to be pictured lyinge by him as you see." Another inscription below commemorates a bequest made by him to the poor of this and other parishes for ever.

"He gave to the poore of this his parishe of Fletchinge, and to the parishe of Smethe in Kent, where he was borne, one hundereth powndes a peece, to be

² See also Pedigree, vol. III, p. 93.

bestowed by his overseers, for a perpetual reliefe amongste them. He gave to five parishes next adjoininge to Fletching, to eache of them fowertye shillings, to be distributed in the daye of his buriall. He likewise gave threscore powndes to the amendinge of the wayes leadinge from Godstone to Lewes, and to eache of his howsehould servants he gave a legacye."

The arms of Leche on the monument are, ermine, on a chief, indented gules, 3 crowns or; crest, issuing out of a crown, a hand-proper, entwined with a leech; but of the family, no representatives now remain in the parish.

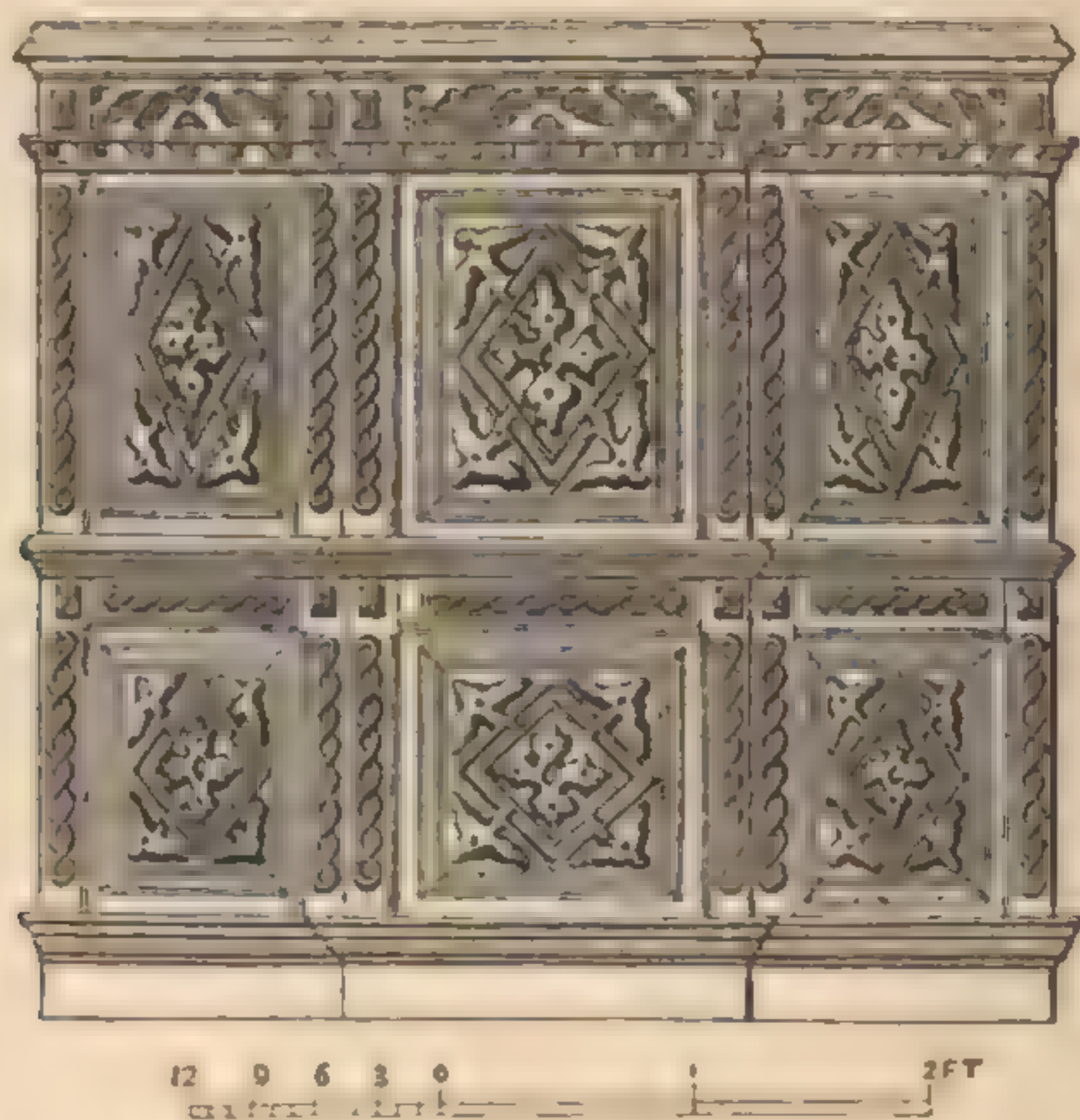
At the extremity of the north transept, and built as a continuation of it, is a mausoleum, erected by the late earl of Sheffield, "*suis sibique*." It is of Portland stone, with a frontispiece, partly visible through the arch of what was the transept window, on which are several inscriptions; one, by Dr. Parr, to the memory of Gibbon, the historian, who was buried within it; another, by the late lamented Hugh James Rose, to the memory of the late earl. It is much to be regretted that this mausoleum was so built as to deprive the church of the light of the large transept window.

In this transept are the only memorials which the church possesses of its former noble patrons. On each side of it is suspended a portion of a knight's armour,—the casque, sword, gloves, and spurs, surmounted respectively by the two crests of the Nevills, earls of Abergavenny—the bull and the bull's head. On the floor of the north aisle also is a small and very perfect brass, consisting of a pair of gloves, with the following inscription underneath:—"Hic jacet Petrus Debot Glover cujus aie p̄picitur Deus. Amen." The Oxford Manual of Brasses assigns to this brass the date of about 1450; Manning's Catalogue that of about 1480. A pair of gloves on the brass shield of John Altair, glover, A.D. 1449, is mentioned by Gough, v. ii, p. 355.

To these memorials of days departed may be added a small monumental slab, with a cross upon it, very perfect, 2 ft. 8 in. in length, now placed in the chancel. It was discovered, a few years ago, at the foundation of one of the buttresses on the north



side of the church, pushed in underneath it, as a sort of underpinning, and fortunately unbroken; and also the head of a small lancet arch, found squeezed into the rubble of the north wall of the chancel, inside; one evidently of a series with which the chancel was anciently decorated; a proof, too, of the injury it has suffered from ruthless hands, the destroyers, no doubt, of the piscina and sedilia also, of which no traces now remain. The pulpit, standing near the chancel arch, is octagonal and slightly elevated. Its carved panels, of which a woodcut is here presented, appear of the date of the latter half of the 17th century.



THE BENEFICE of Fletching is a discharged vicarage, of which the earl of Sheffield is now the patron; the lay-impropriator is J. Villiers Shelley, Esq. The living, in early times, was attached to the see of Chichester, but was separated from it in 1398 by Robert, then bishop of Chichester, who gave it, together with Alfriston, to the priors of Michelham, Sussex, on account of great damage done to them by an inundation of the sea. (Dugdale, *Monast.* vi, 494, note *e.*) At the dissolution of the religious houses by Henry VIII, the great tithes suffered the general fate of such property, and were alienated from the church. The vicarage was valued in the King's Book at £13. 6s. 8d., and *Firma rectoris*, £5. 6s. 8d. in *Valor Eccles.*, 26^o Hen. VIII. In 1835 a Chapel of Ease to the Mother Church was built at Danehill,

in the upper division of the parish. The chapelry has lately been formed into an ecclesiastical district, including in it a small part of the adjoining parish of Horsted-Keynes.

The first entry in the PARISH REGISTERS is of the date of 1554. Some leaves at the beginning are, however, evidently missing; and from a MS. note it is most probable that the real date should be 1536, at which time those of the adjoining parish of Maresfield commence. They contain very little that is curious or interesting. In 1582 there is this entry, so far as it can be decyphered: "the xx of September the names of [such as] were suspected to dy of the plage; first, a stranger dyed, and was buryed upo the commin of Peltdowne; the xxviij of November on of Niclas Holford's children was buryed on the same commin." In 1603 another entry is made of several persons who "died of the plaage," without, however, mentioning where they were buried. The following also may be noticed: "1679, Bur. Frances Turner y^e daughter of Joane Turner, wid. who made oath that Frances her daughter was wrapped, wound up, and buried in woollen only, and the said was attested under the hands and scales of Frances Scraw and Christopher Hills, witnesses to y^e s^d affidavit. Sworne before Wm. Ffermour, Esq., one of his Ma^{ties} justices of peace, and beareth date y^e 27 day of May, 1679." Of this kind there are many entries at this period, in several of which mention is made of "a late act of parliament for burying in woollen." The first of these bears the date of August 29, 1678; the last, of August 16, 1732; mention, however, is made in 1756 of "no affidavit" and "no certificate" having been brought. Entries of birth and burial in the family of the "Lords Bergavenny" occur from 1669 to 1736; one only is found of that of De la Warre. There was buried in "1748, 3d July, the Right Hon^{ble} Ann Lady Delawarr." No monumental memorials remain of the burial places of any of the members of these noble families.

There are some scanty notices of Fletching in the Lewes Chartulary (Cotton MSS. Vespas. XV, F.) which as introducing some names of localities, and of two early ecclesiastics, may be here mentioned.

f. 67.—In a deed dated at Lewes on the Thursday after the Annunciation, 31^o Edw. III (A.D. 1357) Hugh de Chintriac, the prior of Lewes, confirms to John Smith of the Clyve, and his wife Isabella, all the land at Bregghous with its appurtenances in Ffleching, held of the manor of Horstede, by her descent as younger sister of the late John Charp; should they have no issue, the land to go to her son John Ploket. This seems to refer to what is now called Sharp's Bridge.

f. 79.—An indenture between the prior of Lewes and Master Thomas Spurin, rector of the church of Fflescinges, concerning half the great and small tythes of Henry de Dyne, son of Robert de Busel, the land of Richard de la Cotie, 6 acres of marsh land of Schertebregg (*Short Bridge?*) 16 acres and also 20 acres of the widow of John le Wylde, 7 acres of Robert atte Brugg, 7 acres of Stephen le Wylde, &c., which the priory of St. Pancras has received from time immemorial.

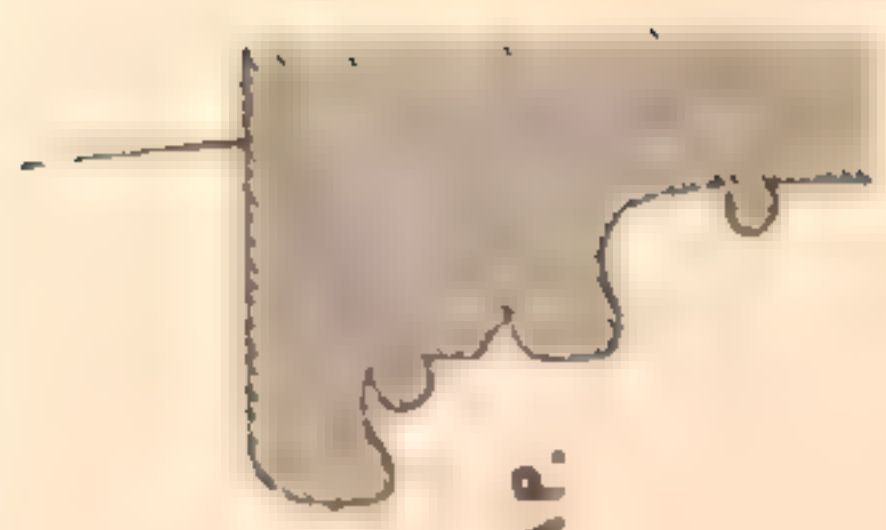
f. 96.—In a deed (probably of the 14th century) dated at Lewes Castle, Simon, vicar of Fflescingess, appears as a witness to a gift of 6*d.* a year, granted to the priory of Lewes by Gervase Peyten.

The registers contain the following entries relative to the vicars of Fletching.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| “ 1580. John Amery, buried. | |
| 1597. Henry Banbrock, buried. | |
| 1598. Henry Feilde, began. | |
| 1608. Henry Feilde, buried. | |
| 1608 & 9. Francis Acton, clarke. | } Their own
signatures. |
| 1609. Richard Teynton, clarke. | |
| 1615. Richard Roots, clarke. | |
| 1619. Richard Roots, vicar. | |
| 1612. Richard Teynton, curat. | |
| 1638. William Pickering, clarke. | |
| 1650. Richard Roots, buried. | |
| 1665. William Roots, vicar. Signature. | |
| 1732. David Vaughan, vicar, buried. | |
| 1786. Michael Baynes, vicar, buried.” | |

The late vicar, the Rev. George Woodward, who succeeded Mr. Baynes, was also rector of Maresfield, and died and was buried there in 1836.





NAVE PIER CAP.



OUTER DOORWAY OF PORCH.



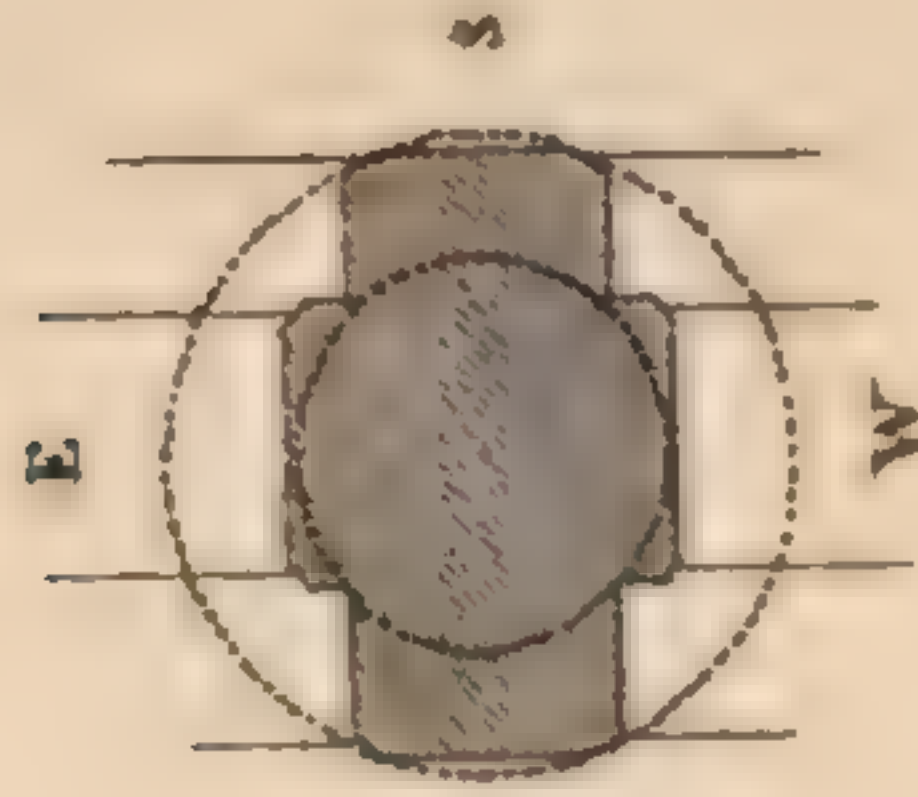
OUTER WEST DOORWAY.



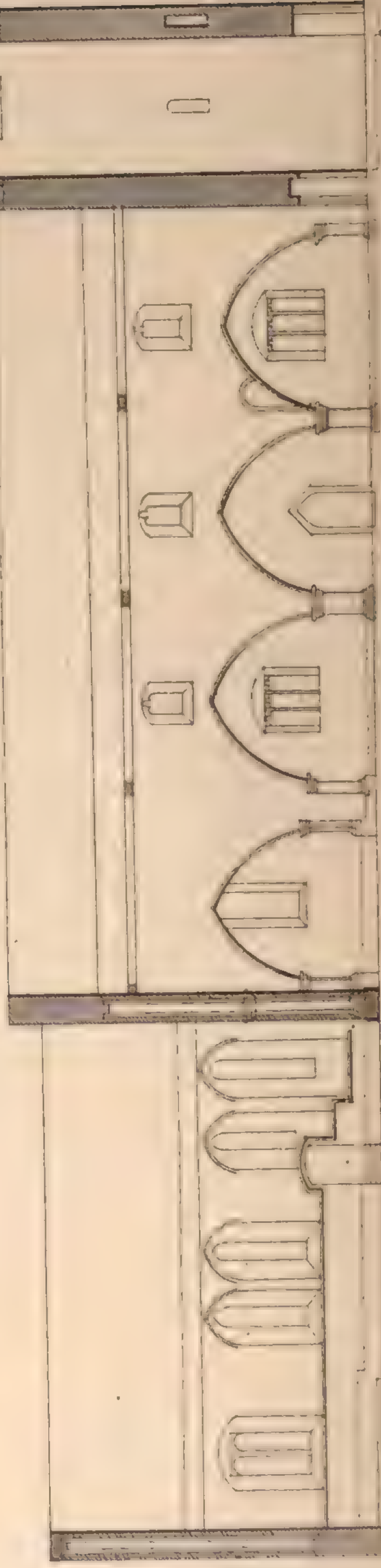
TRANSEPT PIER CAP.



INNER DOORWAY OF PORCH.



PLAN OF PIER ARCHES.



F S 1851

20 feet to 1 inch.

LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE INTERIOR OF FLETCHING CHURCH, SUSSEX.

The dotted line indicates the probable elevation of the original stage throughout the Church above and below the present floor

ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF FLETCHING CHURCH.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK SPURRELL.

THE parish church of Fletching, dedicated to S. Mary and S. Andrew, is large, and possesses, together with the peculiar graduated nave, some remarkable features of interest: and the general appearance, at least of the interior, is in harmony with its sacred character.

By the ground plan, it will be seen, that the building consists of chancel, north and south transepts, nave with north and south aisles, west tower, and south porch; of which the dimensions are here given:

Length Breadth	} of Chancel	{	ft.	in.	Nave	{	ft.	in.	Tower	{	ft.	in.	Porch	{	ft.	in.
			50	0			88	6			13	0			11	6
			22	6			18	6			13	0			10	0
Length Breadth	{	N. Transept	{	ft.	in.	N. Aisle	{	ft.	in.							
				20	6			60	0							
				14	0			7	0							
Length Breadth	{	S. Transept	{	ft.	in.	S. Aisle	{	ft.	in.							
				21	4			59	0							
				15	6			7	0							

the total internal length is 142 ft. and the breadth, 60 ft. 4 in.

The whole of the present edifice is not of coeval erection, and although it is difficult to fix with accurate precision the dates of the different parts of it from want of ancient documentary evidence, the distinctive character of the more ancient work points out plainly the later additions and insertions which have been made from time to time. A Norman Church, without doubt, formerly existed on the present site, and was probably erected at the end of the 11th century, as the present tower is of this date. Of this church distinct traces remain: the foundations of the north and south walls are perfect underground, so far as they have been examined, and on these now rest the present nave piers; the width was that of the present nave, the length it is not so easy to determine, but probably, with its chancel or apsis, it was the same with the present nave, certainly not more. A small and very perfect round-headed window arch on the south wall of the nave (as seen in the longitudinal section) leads to the belief that there were two tiers of windows on each side. The tower was as it now is, excepting its later buttresses and its spire. The Norman buttress is still perfect on the north side.

About the beginning or middle of the 13th century the church appears to have been completely remodelled, the tower only being left, and a fine Early English church, in the form of a cross, was erected in the newly-practised style of pointed architecture; and this, as to the general outline of walls, is the present church. In Edward the Third's reign, possibly about 1340, several repairs appear to have been requisite, and some useful and ornamental work added; for of this date are the chancel arch and transept arches, with their semi-piers, the piscina in the north transept, the four large windows in the aisles, the clerestory windows, and the doorways in the aisles and west side of tower; and about this time also were added the large buttresses at the west side of the tower, and possibly some of the other buttresses also.

With this introduction, which is sufficient to give the date of the principal changes, it remains to mention the beauties and peculiarities of this church, by proceeding to notice each particular portion of it in order.

Chancel. The chancel is unusually large, and is not in harmonious proportion with the other members of the church, nor does even tradition hand down any story why there was so much room for those who perhaps occupied the carved stalls which may have lined its walls. Of the original perfect windows in the east and north and south walls, forming, without doubt, a beautiful design, the north windows retain their pure and elegant arrangement of three groups of lancet couplets, and on the south side the disposition was the same, though differing in detail; but now the first couplet on the south side has been transposed into a poor late double window united under one round arch. The south lancet, No. 5, by the original arrangement, is raised to allow of the priest's doorway underneath it; and No. 6, in both north and south, are elongated with lower sills than the others. The east window is of an unusual size and shape, and has geometric tracery; the sides of the arch spring from a very low point in the jamb, which makes the head peculiarly long and acute. It is 13 feet 10 inches wide, and about 20 feet high, and consists of three lights, terminating evenly, in long lancet-shaped heads, surmounted by two circles, which are crowned by a larger circle. On considering the beautiful geometric tracery of the supermullions together with the fact of the external drip-stone and the glass being in the

middle of the stonework, it seems difficult to reconcile the date of the window to be coeval with that of the Early English lancets; but from the fact of fragments of cusping (still extant) having been lately taken from the large circle, there is cause for the inference that the whole window originally had cusps; and upon that supposition the otherwise unintelligible window is easily assigned to be coeval with the rest of the chancel. The doorway arch in the south wall is pointed externally, internally it is segmental. An Early English string-course of two members runs round the chancel, graduated so as to fall under the windows, but to rise over the door. The floor was probably nearly two feet higher than it is at present. The roof is plain ceiled. The rood-screen stands beneath the chancel arch, and is a curious mixture of woodwork of different periods. In its original state it was a good perpendicular screen of the early part of the 15th century, consisting of three divisions, of which the middle or doorway has suffered injury, and is now a plain pointed arch, and the division on each side is separated by five mullions into six pierced compartments, the lights of which are five-foiled, and above them is a double row of supermullions, with three-foiled heads, and with an embattled transom. In the lower part of the screen have been inserted panels of the linen-pattern work of the 16th century. There are no traces of sedilia or a piscina in the chancel, which part has evidently suffered great injury formerly. The south-east angle is built with solid stone, while all the rest is rubble, often loose and earthy. This may account for there being no traces of sedilia or piscina. The chancel-arch is lofty, 16 feet 9 inches wide, and springs from semi-octagonal piers; the moulding consists of two members chamfered.

Transepts. The transepts are each separated from the nave by a good arch, 12 feet 4 inches wide, springing from semioctagonal piers, and from the aisles by an arch springing from the walls without imposts. These arches are all decorated work of about 1340. The north transept was probably converted into a chantry about this period, and a door, now blocked up, was opened in the west wall to give access to it without entering other parts of the church. In the east wall are two original plain lancet windows under wide arches; and there is inserted in the space of the wall between them a single piscina of decorated work about 1340. The head of it is five-

foiled; the hollow is doubly recessed, and the drain is circular. The label consists of two members, the upper the



PISCINA in North Transept.

scroll moulding, and the under a plain fillet, and on the apex is a curious bracket for a saint's effigy; this position of a bracket is very unusual. The north wall originally contained a large window, like that existing in the south transept. In this north wall is a string-course of one member, the scroll moulding, and which being therefore decorated, is a cause of difficulty in making the date of this

transept Early English; but the walls are apparently Early English, and the lancets certainly are; therefore, possibly in the repair of 1340 this window was repaired also, and the string-course inserted as an ornament.

South Transept. The south transept is a little longer and broader than the north transept, but resembles it in having two Early English lancets in the east wall; one of which is, however, hidden, and partly blocked up by the Leche tomb; and in the south wall is an elegant window, partaking of the character of the east window; it consists of two large lancets, with a circle above, between pierced triangular spandrils. At the sill of this window is a large table-tomb, now much mutilated, on which lies the well known brass already mentioned.

Nave. The nave is the most remarkable part of this church; and, besides the stunted appearance of its three round, massive, Early English piers, and two responds on each side, it presents the proof of what was the most unusual, if not unique, occurrence, of a gradual decline by steps of the piers and pier arches, from the transept to the west door. Examples of gradation in chancels are not unfrequently met with, but this gradation of the nave is an architectural fact quite new, and deserves, therefore, especial notice. It is not the result of the sinking of the west end of the church, since the piers are correctly vertical; but for what reason or use, if any, the gradation was really made, can only now be the subject of conjecture; and the church

being at present on one level, it is now, probably, impossible to speak with certainty as to the extent and nature also of the gradation. Careful measurements, however, have led to the suggesting of a plan which, from the different levels of the pier caps, the varied heights of the piers, and, in the chancel, the rising of the string-course, appears to have been as represented in the accompanying section. Probably the floor of the whole church was a succession of steps, of irregular elevation, rising from west to east; so that there were three steps from the west door to the transept arches, each one as broad as the pier arches, and crossing the whole width of nave and aisles, of a low elevation, but increasing in height by irregular proportion as they advanced towards the east; then across the span of the transept arches, as far as the chancel arch, was probably one raised floor, but gained by two steps; at the chancel arch was probably another step; and the altar probably attained its proper elevation by the chancel floor rising one or two steps more: the chancel windows allow of this high floor, and the difficulty of the sill of the door is evaded by supposing steps within the doorway. The pier-arches in the nave are peculiarly broad: they consist of two chamfered orders, and, in consequence of the piers descending, the western limb of each arch is longer than the eastern, but the apex of each arch is strictly central. In the supposed repair of 1340, the walls appear to have been carried higher, though not so thick, and to have had inserted over the heads of each arch clerestory windows, three on each side; these are single lights with three-foiled heads, now unfortunately blocked up within the modern external roof. The present inner roof is ceiled, and some original tie-beams, with kingpost, remain.

Aisles. The north and south aisles are decorated erections of almost precisely the same dimensions and appearance, and there are two windows and a doorway in the north and south walls respectively; the windows are square-headed and consist of three lights with three-foiled heads and an external drip-stone. At the west end of each aisle is an elegant small Early English lancet, under a plain arch; unfortunately however the one in the south aisle has been blocked up.

Tower. The inner arch of the doorway leading from the nave to the tower is round, and bears upon the tower surface some good Norman mouldings; the northern wall of the tower

is more than a foot out of the square with the other sides, and this bulge has a curious appearance. The whole tower is strongly trussed with massive framing in addition to the solid thickness of the walls, but this is evidently necessary to maintain in its place the tall and elegant shingle spire which surmounts the tower; that is octagonal with broaches at the bases, and, although it has been occasionally renewed, is in frame and character Decorated, and was probably first erected in 1340.

The tower may be said to be two stages high; in the lower stage a single round-headed light is in the north, south, and west sides, and in the upper or belfry stage in each of the four sides is a wide round-headed window divided into two lights by a balustre shaft. The bells are six in number and are all modern. The buttresses are set diagonally, and are unusually massive and projecting; they were added in 1340, when possibly there was some appearance of this old Norman tower inclining westward.

Porch. The aisle doorway, like that at the west side of the tower, is Decorated, as are also probably the small square-headed windows on each side of the porch. At the north end of the east wall is a small benatura for holy water; the arch is a plain lancet, and the basin is square. The external doorway of the porch is later work,—it is under a square-headed label, and the spandrils are charged with blank shields.

Font. The font is new, of Perpendicular style, and is placed near the porch.

Exterior. The roofs of both chancel and nave are below their original pitch, as is shown by the old coping of the chancel and the weather moulding on the tower for the nave roof. The stone used is chiefly the sandstone found in the neighbourhood. An interesting feature connecting the old Norman Church with the present one is the original flat Norman buttress which exists at the north-east angle of the tower; it is now incorporated in the wall of the aisle: there are traces also of a similar buttress at the south-east angle.

In this architectural sketch of Fletching Church technical terms have been as much as possible avoided, in the hope that the general archæological description may prove sufficiently interesting to create an investigation into the characteristics of all our Sussex Churches.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PARISH REGISTERS

AND

OTHER PAROCHIAL DOCUMENTS OF EAST SUSSEX.

BY ROBERT WILLIS BLENCOWE, ESQ., M.A.

BEFORE the Reformation the Registers of the Births, Marriages, and Burials of the members of great families were kept in the religious houses; but as far as the humbler classes were concerned, they were born, they were married, and they died, unrecorded and unknown. At the dissolution of those establishments, however, the registration was extended to all ranks of society, and referred for execution to the parochial clergy. The same act which placed the Bible in the English language within our churches, enjoined the keeping of parish registers: Stow, describing this event, says, "This month of Sept: 1538, Thomas Cromwell, lord privy seale, vicè-gerent to the king's highness, sent forth injunctions to all bishops and curates through the realme, charging them to see that in everie parish church the Byble, of the largest volume, printed in English, were placed for all men to reade in, and that a book of register were also provided, and kept in everie parish church; wherein shall be written everie wedding, chrystening, and burying, within the same parish for ever."

Many of the earliest registers have been lost, and much the greater number of those now extant are what they were intended to be, mere records of the three great events of a man's life; but it sometimes happened that the clergyman of the day made it, in addition, according to his humour, either a book of notes, a record of his troubles with his parishioners, or a chronicle of any interesting event which had occurred to his neighbours or himself.

Such has been the case with some of the Sussex parish registers, from which the following extracts have been made, and they are now published, in the hope that they may be

found not only curious as genuine specimens of individual character, but interesting as illustrating the past condition and customs of our Church. To my friends, clerical and lay, who, whenever they have been applied to, have most kindly and readily assisted me in my researches, I beg to offer my best thanks. From the Rev. E. Turner, the Rev. F. E. Tower, J. D. Powell, Esq., George Hoper, Esq., and J. T. Auckland, Esq., I have received that assistance which has given to this paper much of whatever interest it may possess.

MARESFIELD.

The earliest register of this parish is ushered in with the following preface :

“ In the name of God. Amen.

“ This book, which is now begun in the yeare of our Lorde M.CCCCC.XXXVIII., and in the xxxth yeare of our Lorde king Harrye the VIIIth, supreme head, under Christ, of the Church of England, under God, here on earth.

“ God save king Harrye.”

The Rev. Henry Mitchell, rector of the parish, at a much later period, adds, in a note, “ Incipitur annus die quo Henricus Octavus regnare suscepit, scilicet Aprilis 22^{do} ;” and again, when Edward VI began his reign, he adds, “ Anno primo Edwardi Sexti incipit annus sicut antea sub Henrico ;” a peculiarity perhaps worth noting.

In the same spirit, but more quietly, the rector of Warbleton opens his register from “ the beginning of the reign of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith of all, which was the 17th day of Nov^r, in the yeare of our Lord 1559, whom I beseech God to preserve, and hope that she may reign long and many years over us in joy and felicity.”

These passages, and such as these, were probably not mere ebullitions of loyal feeling, but solemn declarations of their adherence to the principles of the Reformation, which was then proceeding, and to which many of their brethren were decidedly opposed.¹ Religious and party spirit, in those days,

¹ “ Many of the clergy,” says Strype, “ would humm and hawke at the reading of the Bible, and the king’s injunctions, so that almost no man could understand them, and they blew abroad, that by means of the registers the king intended to make new exactions at

were inflamed to the highest degree, and nowhere did it rage more furiously than in the diocese of Chichester; the bishop of Chichester, Dr. George Day, who was raised to that see in 1543, having placed himself at the head of those who opposed the movement, and having impeded it to the utmost of his power.

“ 1538. In the month of October, and the firste daye of the saide month, I christened a child, whose name is called Charlys.”

“ In the saide month, and the ixth day thereof, I buried a child of the rayning sickness, whose name was called Parnell Carvell.”

“ Item, I also buried John Hayman, the xiii daye of October, of the rayning sickness.”

This probably was what was called the sweating sickness, which proved so fatal in England, at various times, during this century. It made its first appearance in England in 1485, occurred again in 1517, and raged with fatal effect in 1551. Bishop Kennett describes it as “ a new, strange, and violent disease; for, if a man were attacked therewith, he died or escaped within nine hours; if he took cold, he died within three hours; if he slept within six hours (as he should be desirous to do), he died raving:” it seems to have chiefly attacked men of the strongest constitution and in the prime of life.

all chrystenings, weddings, and burials.” The bishop of Chichester obeyed, though very reluctantly, the directions that were given to him, until the order came out in 1550 to change the altars into communion tables, when he positively refused to go any further. “ That which gave the council the first occasion against Day, bishop of Chichester, was partly his refusal to comply with the order for changing the altars into tables, and partly his going down into his diocese, and there preaching against it, and other matters of that nature, then in agitation, to the raysing of dangerous tumults and discontents among the people. This came to the council’s ears, and on the 7th of October, Dr. Cox, the king’s almoner, was ordered to repair into Sussex, to appease the people by his good doctrine, which were now troubled through the seditious preaching of the bishop of Chichester and others.” The bishop was several times summoned before the council and reasoned with, but in vain, and he and the bishop of Worcester were committed to the Fleet, where he remained nine months, and he was deprived of his see. At the end of that time his health failing, he was sent to the bishop of Ely, who was directed to “ use him as to Christian charity should be most seemly, at whose hands the king doubted not but he should receive such Christian advice as would tend to the glory of God.” In Queen Mary’s days he was restored to his bishopric, and became “ a mighty busy man.” (Strype’s *Mem. of Cranmer*, vol. i, p. 330.)

“ Item, the xxiiii day of the said month I weddyed one Robert Shatforth and Richard Pennywolde.”

“ 1551. Johannes Norman renatus erat.

“ Stephanus Dobson undâ baptismatis ablutus erat.

“ Symonus Kiddar baptizatus erat.”

“ Thomas Jeckett et Joanna Mephram sacramentaliter² matrimonium contraxerunt 29 mensis Junii.”

“ Moritius Barbarie et Etheldreda Lucas sacramentaliter matrimonium contraxerunt 10 die mensis prædicti.”

The register of the marriage and of the christening of his child, by the rector of Staplehurst, in Kent, in 1548, will best explain the meaning of these terms. “ Magister Richarde Besceley, sacræ theologiæ professor, ac serenissimi et illustrissimi felicis memoriæ principis Henrici Octavi, nuper regis strenuissimi et metuendissimi sacellans, necnon rector hujus ecclesiæ et ecclesiastes, Janam Lenarde, orphanam, virginem pauperculam, pudicam et honestam, matrimonio solemnizato, sibi accepit in conjugem, vicessimo quarto die Martii.”³

“ 1549. The ninth day of June, being Whitsunday, (wherein the booke of the Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England, began to be executed,) there was first baptised Marie, the daughter of Richarde, parson of this parish church, born the last Thursday, of his lawful wife Jane; who were married the yeare before, and in the first day that the holy communion, in the Englishe tongue (after the order that now is), was there ministered: they both, with others, most humblye and devoutlie communicating the same. The parson christened his own childe.”

The words “lawful wife,” here used, have a significant meaning; for, in those days, men’s opinions were much divided as to the lawfulness of a priest’s marrying, and the power to do so was slowly and reluctantly given by the

² This term implies the writer’s adherence to the opinion of the sacramental nature of matrimony, though no longer sanctioned in Edward the Sixth’s time.

³ For these, and for other curious extracts from the register of Staplehurst I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. G. M. Cooper.

legislature; and those priests who married took especial care to declare their right to do so.

“ 1551. Buried Peter, a Frenchman.”

“ 1557. Buried Peter Gagge, Gallus.”

“ 1570. Buried John, a Dutchman.”

There are many other entries, recording the burials of foreigners, who doubtless were workmen at the forges where cannon were made, in which art they were cunning artificers, and such is the case generally through the Weald of Sussex. In the Frant register foreign names frequently occur, and in 1574 John Edmund, alias Mauner, a Frenchman, is stated to have been “murthered.” Mugglewicks, a corruption probably of some Dutch or German name, often appears there: within a few years a family at Warbleton, whose real name was Roberts, were known by the name of Calles, a corruption of Calais, from which place, tradition says, they originally came.

“ Nov. 1576, 25th. Was baptised Jane Kydder, daughter of John Kydder, by Jane Watmouth, in the house of the said John Kydder.”⁴

“ An extent of the forest of Ash Downe, made in the year of our Lord 1576, concerning the parson of Maresfield, as followeth.—Imprimis, the parson of Maresfield ought to have, by ancient custome, 16 kyne and one bull during the whole yeare, and to have 20 hogges acquitt from pannage, for the whole yeare (where the prior of Milcheham hath his kyne).

⁴ “ Nam tum temporis, hoc jam morituro infante, concessit Ecclesia, quod et copiosè defendit in Politiâ suâ Hooker, erat enim Jane rectoris uxor.” Such is the comment of the Rev. Henry Mitchell, rector of Maresfield, and afterwards vicar of Brighton, where he died in the year 1789. He was a man of high character as a clergyman and a scholar. The following story of a broken heart is interesting in itself, and told in very good Latin. “ Buried, Dec. 16th, 1742, Mrs. Mary Rolfe, of Buxted, aged 19, and Mr. James Atkinson, of London. ‘ Quorum memoria, ut posteris tradatur dignissima, cum inter eos amor mutuus intercessisset, nec jam longè abesse videretur Hymenæos, puella graviter ægrotavit. Ille Londini nuntium accipiens tristem, (nam ibi habitabat, inter publicanos regio portoria exigens,) ad Buxted celerrimè adcurrit, et Amasiam jam morti proximam offendit. Quæ tamen, illo viso, animam paulisper revocans, duos totos dies contrà omnium opinionem continuit, in quibus ille ad lectum assiduè sedebat, cibum potumque obstinato animo rejiciens. Die Dominico, ad vesperum exantlavit illa, ille ad lectum in cubiculo suo agro, delatus est. Ibi perpetuò gemens, mortem optans, die Jovis, eâdem horâ quâ elata est, et ipse voti compos est factus: dies sane funestus, eoque funestior, quod nunc nuptiis suis destinaverant, quo hic obiit, illa sepulta est.’ ”

“ Item, the chaplaine of Maresfield ought to have in the forest, by ancient custome, 15 kine and one bull, on the south side of Leabrooke durynge the yeare, and also with custome, and if they so transgresse bounds, pardonable, and 20 hogges, by ancient custome, and acquitt of pannage ; and shall have houseboote, hayeboote, heathboote, and wood for the fire, by deliverance of the master of the forest.”

(Signed by 16 witnesses.)

“ 1579. Was baptised Joan Birmingham, the daughter of John Birmingham and Joan his wife, by the midwife at home, and it was buried on the 20th day.⁵ Thomas Rofe baptised by Mr. Clipper of Marshalls.”

Thus, in the registers of Maresfield there are cases of lay-baptism performed by the minister's wife, a midwife, and a layman ; and in that of Horstead-Keynes there is one recorded in which the ceremony was performed by a “ Mr. Griffin, a person unknowne.” The ceremony was necessarily a short one, and only permitted in cases of great necessity, and this was the order of it, “ Let them that be present call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's Prayer if the time will suffice, and then one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying, ‘ I baptise thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ ” A child so baptised was not to be baptised again in church, but if the child lived it was ordered to be brought to church, that inquiry should be made as to the manner in which it had been baptised, and if the answers were unsatisfactory and “ they could not tell what they did or said in their great fear and trouble of mind,” the child was again baptised by the priest, with these words, “ If thou be not baptised already, I baptise thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ;” and this continued to be the practice, till it was ordered to be discontinued after the conference at Hampton Court in the reign of James I.

⁵ In the registers of burials of several parishes, and particularly in that of Frant, where it frequently occurs, children are sometimes called Chrysomers, meaning such children as died within the month after their birth, during which time they used to wear the chrisom or the white cloth which is put on a newly-baptised child.

The following extract from the Roman Ritual proves how vitally important this sacrament was considered in the Roman Catholic Church, and surely their doctrine and their practice were far more reasonable and consistent than that of many in the present day, who conceding the importance of it allow perhaps a month to pass away before it is administered.⁶

“Nemo in utero matris clausus baptizari debet, sed si infans caput emiserit, et periculum mortis immineat baptizetur in capite, nec postea si vivus evaserit, iterum baptizetur; at si aliud membrum emiserit, quod vitalem indicat motum, in illo si periculum pendeat, baptizetur.” (Rom. Rit. quoted in Burn’s Regist.)

The midwife, on whom in cases of need this duty generally devolved, was considered an important person by the Church, and was not allowed to exercise her office until she had been duly examined, and licensed to do so by the bishop or ordinary or his chancellor or commissary; and such indeed she was considered at a comparatively late period, as the following extracts from the Form of a License granted in 1675 testifies.

“Thomas Exton, knight, doctor of laws, commissary general, lawfully constituted of the right worshipful the dean and chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul’s, in London; to our beloved in Christ, Anne Voule, the wife of Jacob Voule, of the parish of St. Giles’s, Cripplegate, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting: Whereas, by due examination of diverse, honest, and discreet women, we have found you apt and able, cunning and experte, to occupy and exercise the office, business, and occupation of midwife;” then follows the appointment, and amongst many wise and humane rules for her conduct she is thus exhorted: “You are to be diligent, faithful, and ready to help every woman travelling of child, as well the poor as the rich, and you shall not forsake the poor woman and leave her to go to the rich; you shall in no wise exercise any manner of witchcraft, charms, sorcery, invocation, or other prayers, than such as may stand with Gods laws, and the kings;” and it concludes thus, “Item, you shall not be privy to or consent that any priest or other party shall in

⁶ Long after the Reformation it very rarely happened that more than two days were allowed to elapse between the birth of a child and its baptism.

your absence, or your company, or of your knowledge or sufferance, baptise any child by any mass, Latin service, or prayers than such as are appointed by the laws of the Church of England; neither shall you consent that any child borne by any woman, who shall be delivered by you, shall be carried away without being baptised in the parish by the ordinary minister where the said child is born. 16th day of May, 1675.”⁷ In a certificate of much earlier date, namely, in 1579, a midwife, Eleanor Peard, is called upon to make oath in addition to these and many other articles, “that she will use pure and clear water only, and not any rose or damask water or water made of any confection.”

At bishops’ visitations, the form of summoning all physicians, surgeons, schoolmasters, and midwives, to appear and shew by what authority they practise and exercise their several offices, is still adhered to.

“1664. Baptised, Ursula Morgan, the first child baptised after the new fashion.”

The old custom of baptism was by immersion, but aspersion or sprinkling was allowed if the child was weak, and the practice of administering the sacrament in this way was generally introduced by our divines, when they returned from the Continent in Queen Elizabeth’s time; indeed during the latter part of her reign, and those of James the First’s and Charles the First’s, very few children were dipped at the font. After the Restoration the old practice was again gradually introduced, which is probably that alluded to above.⁸

⁷ For access to this and other interesting documents I am indebted to the kindness of George Hoper, Esq.

⁸ See King Edward the Sixth’s Books of Common Prayer, and Wheatley on Common Prayer. In the parish register of Hillingdon, in Middlesex, there is the following entry: “Baptised, Elizabeth, the daughter of William Pratt, Feb. 25th, 1671; the first that in eleven years was baptised with water in the font, the custom being in this place to baptise out of a bason, after the presbyterian manner, only set in the font, which I could never get reformed, till I had gotten a new clerk, John Brown, who presently did what I appointed to be done.” This and several other cases which have been introduced into this paper are taken from a very curious work published in 1829, and now out of print, called the ‘*Registrum Ecclesiæ Parochialis*, by John Southerden Burn.’ I am obliged to Mr. Suter, of Cheapside, the publisher, for the loan of the work.

BUXTED.

“William Sumers, Parish Clarke of Bucksted above 20 years. A man endued with many good things, a very rare singer, when the Organs were up in Bucksted Church, who was buried on the 20th of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1558. He lies buried in the North Quire, beside where the Organ stood.”

In some of the parishes of Sussex, where the Puritans prevailed, the people broke open the churches, and tore down the images and ornaments, committing great havoc, and probably this was the case with the organs in Buxted church. An outrage of a very serious character is recorded by Strype as having occurred at Hailsham in 1558. “In the latter end of March the parish church of Haylesham, in Sussex, was spoiled, and that by the inhabitants of the town, whereof Thos. Bishop and John Thatcher, Justices of the Peace, made complaint to Sir Richard Sackville. This, whatever it was they had done, was styled by the Council a ‘heinous disorder,’ and Sir Nicholas Pelham and Sir Edward Gage were called to their assistance to arrest the ringleaders.”⁹

“A true copye of the wrytinge, whereunto the Minister of Buckstede and the Swornemen¹⁰ have sett their hands for witnesses, as it standeth in record in the Church booke of the Church Wardens, touching the submission of Walter Cushman, of Buckstede, before he was admitted to the Holy Communion, how he submitted and humbled himselfe to the Queens Majesty’s proceedings.”

“Whereas Walter Cushman, of Buxstede, hath these three years last past been presented divers tymes by the Church Wardens and Swornemen, being honest men that favoured

⁹ Strype’s Annals of the Reformation.

¹⁰ Swornemen, or Sidesmen, a corruption of Synodsmen, as they were more generally called, were assistant churchwardens. They were summoned by the bishops to attend the Synods, and their duty was to give information as to the state of the morals and the conduct of the clergy and parishioners; sometimes they were called Questmen, and they were bound to present all heretics and other irregular persons. They were chosen yearly in Easter week, from among the most respectable of the inhabitants, by the minister and parishioners. They still exist in some of the parishes in London, but are, I believe, entirely disused in this part of the country.

the laws of God and the Queens Majestys proceedings, and also by Henry Monuques, Minister of Buckstedde, and a preacher, for divers sundry causes touched in her Majestys injunctions, vid^e, 'That the sayd Walter Cushman mayntayned divers Popish errors, as of the corporal presence in the sacrament, images, and other Popish opinions."

"That he carried about a Popish book touching the corporal presence in the sacrament, which he confessed."

"That he was not only suspected, but also proved, and himself hath confessed, to have carried letters between Papist and Papist in the tyme of the Queens Majestys danger, by treason by the 14 notorious trayters."¹⁰

"That he led his horse up and down in the church, and about the Communion table in the chancel."¹¹

"That he was known to be a contemner and abuser of ministers, and especially now of late of Mr. Monuques, by sundry malicious and opprobrious words against him."

"That he was known to be a seditious person, breeding

¹⁰ This was Babington's conspiracy.

¹¹ So that the table had evidently been detached from the wall. The first public order for the removal of altars and the substitution of tables was contained in a letter from K. Edward VI, subscribed by the Protector Somerset, the archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to Bishop Ridley, in which he was directed to remove them, and "to order tables to be placed in some convenient part of the chancel, to serve for the administration of the blessed communion." This order was carried into execution in some instances very irreverently, and in 1559 an order was made "that no altar should be taken down but by oversight of the curate and churchwardens, and without riot and disorder; and that the table be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood, and so to stand but when the communion should be celebrated, and then it should be placed within the chancel, so that the minister might more conveniently be heard of the communicants, and the communicants in more conveniency and number communicate with the minister." "Many disorders," says Heylin, "grew up in the officiating the liturgie, and unto these the change of altars into tables gave no small increase, as well by reason of some differences which grew amongst the ministers themselves upon that occasion." Of course the Roman Catholics took full advantage of this. "White, bishop of Lincoln, chargeth it upon Bishop Ridley (to omit his prophane calling of the Lord's table, in what posture soever situated, by the name of an Oyster Board), that when their table was constituted they could never be content in placing the same, now east, now north, now one way, now another; untill it pleased God, of his goodness, to place it quite out of the church." And Weston, Prolocutor of the Convocation in the reign of Queen Mary, told Latimer, in a disputation with him, "that the Protestants, having turned their table, were like a company of apes, that knew not which way to turn their tails." "To remove this scandal, the rubric was resolved upon by which the minister who officiates was pointed to a certain place, and the north side was thought fitter than any other."—(Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 106.)

mischiefe betweene neighbours, and threatning the swornemen for doing their duty according to their oath."

"That he was a disturber of divine service by talking and laughinge in the church, and specially in the time of the sermon."

"That he paid not the poor, nor to the reparation of the church, nor to the clarkes wages, as he ought."

"That he hath not receaved these three years at Bucksted, and hath taken his oath lately that he durst not receave for fear of poysoning."

"At the request of some of the queens officers, Walter Cushman, upon his reconciliation, was receaved and admitted to the Lord's supper June 2d, 1588, being Trinity Sundaye."

There are many other cases of presentment in the records of the visitations, not only for offences against morality, but for that of not receiving the sacrament, and for neglecting the offices of the Church: as for instance, in 1682, John Reade, John Stone, Rich^d Golding, and John Brandon were presented for not coming to church according to law, and for keeping meetings in their houses contrary to law. 'Thos. Bull and his wife were presented for not having their three younger children baptised; and 'Thos. Hewson, the minister of Framfield, being presented as an offender to the bishop, "apparuit et agnovit" that he had given the sacrament without wearing a surplice.

The leading horses into churches was a common mode adopted by the papists of insulting the reformers. "Sacred places," says Strype in his 'Memorials of Cranmer,' "set apart for divine worship were now (in 1548) greatly profaned, and so probably they had been before by ill-custom. For in many churches, cathedrals as well as others, and especially in London, many frays, quarrells, riots, and blood-sheddings were committed. They used commonly to bring horses and mules into and through churches, and shooting off hand-guns, making the same, which were properly appointed to God's service and common prayer, like a stable or common inn, or rather a sink of all unchrysteness." And among the articles set forth by Cranmer to be inquired of in the visitations within the diocese of Canterbury, one of them is, "Whether any have

used to commune, jangle, and talk in the church, in the time of common prayer, reading of the homilly, preaching, reading, or declaring the Scripture."

Those of our forefathers who approved not of sermons were not satisfied with the system of passive resistance, which occurs occasionally at present in the form of slumber, or of quietly walking out of the church, which sometimes happens. The pulpit then was to a certain extent what the press is now ; it reflected and directed and occasionally opposed itself to the feelings of the people, in which case the preacher sometimes met with most discourteous treatment. When Bonner, preaching at Paul's Cross, ventured to attack the measures and conduct of Edward VI, murmurs first arose, then caps were hurled in the air, a dagger was thrown at him, and he was obliged to fly for refuge into St. Paul's school. To descend to later times, when Dr. Barrow got into the pulpit of St. Andrew's, Jewry, the whole congregation were so disturbed by his *rough* appearance, that, save Richard Baxter and two or three, they left the church : on another occasion when preaching at Westminster Abbey, the hour allowed for the sermon having expired, and a multitude of people having as usual assembled to view the interior, the attendants, determined not to lose their fees, caused the organ to be struck up against him and fairly blew him out of the pulpit. Perhaps the greatest compliment ever paid to a sermon is that recorded by Sir J. Jekyl : he says, " I was present (when Dr. Burnet preached) and when the author had preached out an hour-glass, he took it up and held it aloft in his hand, and then turned it up for another hour, upon which the audience, a very large one for the place, set up almost a shout for joy." ¹²

" 1593. Adrian, the son of Keate Fenning, of the parish of Maighfield, at the earnest request of the sayde Fenning, as also with the goodwill and approbation of Mr. Carleton, pastor of Maighfield aforesaid, in consideration of the nearness of the place, as also the weakness of the child, was baptized the 25th of March."

Then follows a happy instance of combination in a parish

¹² Wilnot's Biography of Jeremy Taylor ; Hamilton's Life of Barrow ; Burnet's History.

for a holy purpose. "Because God hath commanded us to have a care, that the sabbath daye be kept holy, both by ourselves and others, as farre as we are able, therefore upon consideration that the Lord's day hath been manie and divers wayes prophaned by unlawful meetings and feastings for manie yeares past, we, whose names are undersigned, doe give our consente, that for the time to come the parish feast (commonly called Yon faull) shall be kept upon St. James his day, except it fall upon the Sabbath; and then it may, and must be kept, if it be kept at all, upon the next day following: and thus desiring God to remember us in his goodnesse, as we desire to keep this daye in holinesse after the example of Nehemiah and his people, Neh. ch. 10, v. 13, we set to our hands this 2d day of Januarie, A.D. 1613." Signed W^m Smart, minister at Buxtede, and thirty-seven others.

"1666. Richard Bassett, the old clarke of this parish, who had continued in the offices of clarke and sexton for the space of 43 years, whose melody warbled forth as if he had been thumped on the back with a stone, was buried the 20th of Sept. 1666."¹³

NEWICK.

1584. June 12th, was baptised Robert Smith, son of ———, the childe being baseborn in the parish of Westfield, and the mother did bring the childe to the church herself, it being eight weeks old, and this was done in the presence of William Dicker of Buxtede, Edward Catt of Withyham, and many others." Ayde on Highe and Joye in Sorrowe are the names conferred upon their children by their grateful parents, born under happier circumstances, in the church at Isfield.

¹³ Many such warblers may still be heard in the Weald of Sussex. A few years since, a fine organ was put up in a neighbouring parish-church, the gift of a liberal resident, and to the satisfaction of some, but to the regret of many, the old band of warblers was baffled and silenced by it. A friend of the editor congratulating a neighbour on the event found no responsive feeling there, though he candidly admitted that things were not quite perfect: "You see, Miss, our quire is got a little out of sorts; theres old Jeemes Comber, he's been at it sixty year or more, he should know what singing is, and he would get on pretty well if Joe Jenkins didn't keep a boffling of him with his clarionet, and then theres Master Mitchell he does do to the uttermist, but when there's anything that wants to goo very high, then his cough comes."

In the Frant register there is this entry, 1556. "Baptised Thomas, a bastard; the vicar of Wadhurst was his god-father."

"1633. Baptised, Susan, daughter of Anth^y Blackmore, of Linfield, by reason of greate waters, they could not carry it to their owne parish. Uno codemque die, Nov. 10th, Mary Verroll, daughter of Thos. Verroll, was baptised by reason of a mighty flood, so that they might not safely goe to their own church."

"Carolus secundus Dei gratiâ Magnæ Britanniae Ffranciae et Hiberniae rex, ffanaticorum quorundam vi ex regno suo detrusus in exilio injustissimo exactis duodecim annis, ad suos Londinum rediit maximo cum omnium gaudio Maii 29, 1660, suo ipsius natali die."¹⁴

"Carolus 2^{dus} Rex noster serenissimus coronâ Angliæ &c. redimitus April 23d, die B. Geor. dicat A.D. 1661, faxit Deus ut post seram beatamque senectutem æternâ donatus sit. Amen."

"Richardus filius Richardi Wilkin rectoris Neovic^o et Elizabethæ conjugis ejus obiit 3^{to} die, sepultus est 5^{to} die Martii an. Dom. 1664.

Chare! sed invideo, sine me fili ibis in urnam:
Hei mihi, quod patri non licet ire tuo!"

2 Sam. 18, 33.

MAYFIELD.

"Ephemeris sive Registrum Calendare Ecclesiæ de Maighfield, Sussex, deinceps a xiii^o Maii in anno Dom. CIO—IO LXXX IX. Una pagina sepulturas et matrimonium, altera baptismata continet."

"March 29, 1602. At two of ye clock in the morning died that famous Prince ye peaceable and glorious mourning mother of the Church in her daies Queene Elizabeth."

"1611. Upon the Saboath daye, beinge the 15th daye of

¹⁴ In the same spirit, the rector of Barton Segrave, in Northamptonshire, records this happy event: "Memorandum in perpetuum." King Charles the Second (after twelve years' exile) was by a miracle of mercy restored to his three kingdoms, his undoubted right, May 29th, 1660. Soli Deo Gloria. W. H.

Maye, about 8 o'clock in the night arose a great fire in the house of 'Thos. Stephen, at the west end of Mayfield towne, and burnt downe both his house and the next house adjoining, and sett on fire another house and also a barne. 'The fire by God's providence was put out, the whole towne being in great danger, by reason of the violence of the wind, which then was towards the west."

"Anno Dom. 1626. In the former part of this summer there was an extraordinary great fall of raine, and apparent danger of famine, whereupon a publicke faste was proclaimed throughout the kingdome to be kept on the 2d of August, which accordingly being performed, it pleased the Lord in great mercy, the very same daye to send a comfortable sunshine, and after that very seasonable and faire harvest weather, the like whereof has seldom been with so little intermission or mixture of raine, herein verifying his promise, Psalm 1—"Thou shalt call upon mee in the time of trouble and I will deliver thee." Our duty followeth, "and thou shalt glorify mee." *Μόνῳ Θεῷ δόξα.*¹⁵

"1628. Luke Merchant, sonne of Richard being about one yeare old, was baptised with the consent of John Elliott, of Rotherfield, who was grandfather unto the sayd infant by the mother's syde; the parents both obstinately refusing."

"1629. One Will. Duke, servant to Jas. Aynscombe, drowned himself on the 28th April, but was not buried with Christian burial. O Lord suffer us not to be tempted above our power!"

So strictly was this rule enforced in cases of suicide, that in the following instance at Granchester, in Cambridgeshire, where the very statement of the case seems to prove insanity, it was carried into effect. "Edwardus Ward, infans Edwardi, cujus mater cum ferro inhumanissime eum interfecit, eodemque tempore et instrumento eodem seipsam vitâ spoliavit. Infans in cemeterio est sepultus; mater vero, quasi Christianâ sepulturâ indigna, sepulta fuit in agro, 1640." In the register of Frant there is a still stronger case in which the party had been declared insane by the coroner's inquest: "Dunstan Fordman was interred without the service of the Church, having laid violent hands on himself, and having been returned by the

¹⁵ There's nought so surely pays the debt,
As wet to dry, and dry to wet.—*North Country Proverb.*

jury “non compos mentis.” In the register of Blatchington it is recorded that in 1653 “Sarah Reynolds, servant, came to an untimely ende, as it was thought, May the 1st at night, for from that time shee was not scene living, and shee was then found in a pond at the lower end of the parish; shee was laid in the ground the 5th of June.” And such, too, was the case at Newhaven, when a mother whose child had died and was buried, and who drowned herself two days afterwards in the harbour, was refused Christian burial.¹⁶ The law and the practice is laid down in the case of poor Ophelia”¹⁷

“*Laertes*.—What ceremony else?

“*Priest*. — Her obsequies have been as far enlarged
As we have warranty; her death was doubtful;
And, that but great command o’ersways the order
She should in ground unsanctified have lodged
Till the last trumpet; for charitable prayers,
Shards, flints and pebbles, should be thrown on her;
Yet here she is allowed her virgin crants,
Her maiden strewments, and the bringing home
Of bell and burial.

“*Laertes*.—Must there no more be done?

“*Priest*. — No more be done!
We should profane the service of the dead
To sing a requiem and such rest to her
As to peace parted souls.”

1646. “I being called upon to the assembly of divines did offer to give up all the tythes due from the parishioners for the mayntenance of a minister; but through the backwardness of many in not paying their dues (and it may be) by the negligence of some in not being active to procure a fit man for the place, and to give him encouragement, there was no constant minister for some time, and afterwards divers changes, so that the register was neglected for divers yeares.

“JO. MAYNARD.”¹⁸

¹⁶ “Maria filia Dionisii Bailwee baptizata fuit undecimo die Martii, sepulta fuit vicesimo secundo.” “Uxor Dionisii Bailwee voluntariè mersa fuit in portu decimo septimo die.” There is no record of her burial.

¹⁷ It is recorded in the register of Weedon, in Northamptonshire, in 1619, that when the person excommunicated was buried by his relations in the night time the church was interdicted for a fortnight.

¹⁸ “John Maynard, esteemed by those of his persuasion an eminent and judicious Divine, was born of a genteel family in Sussex; he became a commoner of Queen’s College in 1616, whence he transferred himself to Magdalen Hall. In 1662, he took the degree of Master of Arts as a compounder, entered in holy orders, and at length became vicar of

WIVELSFIELD.

Far worse than this was the condition of the parish of Wivelsfield in those days of contest and confusion. The tithes, both great and small, of that parish, belonged to a Mr. More, of Morehouse, whose predecessors had received them by grant from the crown, on the dissolution of the monastery of Lewes, previous to which the church had been supplied by a lay reader, "who sometimes, on a holiday, came over to read a homily." During the time of the rebellion and the Protectorate, the church, which had before been supplied by students provided by the family of Mr. More, had been filled successively by a Presbyterian jack-maker, a drummer, and at the time the following correspondence commenced the pulpit was occupied by a maltman. Mr. More, reasonably objecting to this state of things, had withheld the supplies, and, upon the restoration, the letters which passed between Dr. Henry King, the bishop of Chichester, and the Squire of Wivelsfield, prove that he was a man of talent and education, and probably not far inferior to the country gentlemen of the present day.

¹⁹ "To his very loving friend Thomas More, this letter to be delivered.

"SIR,—A petition hath been delivered against you to his Majesty, by the inhabitants of the parish of Wivelsfield, that sheweth the want of a minister among them for the space of three years last past; that though raised in their tythes by you their impropiator, no allowance for a minister hath been made them, which was not omitted by yourself or your ancestors for above forty years before these unsettled times; through which neglect, their children and servants, wanting instruction

Maighfield, in his own county; but when the rebellion broke out he shewed himself more of a Puritan, and preached with more liberty; whereupon, being appointed one of the Assembly of Divines, he took the Covenant, held forth several times before the members of the Long Parliament, had other preferments, I presume, bestowed upon him; and, in 1654, he was appointed one of the assistants to the commissioners for the ejection of such whom they called ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. He was the author of several published sermons, and of a work called 'The Young Man's Remembrancer and the Old Man's Friend.'" (Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.)

¹⁹ For this interesting correspondence I have to return my best thanks to I. T. Auckland, Esq., who furnished me with the original manuscript of Mr. More.

in the grounds and principles of religion, and nursed in ignorance, have been forced to wander into other parishes."

* * * * He then calls upon him "to settle an orthodox minister with a competent mayntenance; and thus I recommend you to God's blessing, and do write myself your loving friend,
"HEN^{RY} CHICHESTER."

"These, to the Right Rev. Father in God, Henry, lord bishop of Chichester :—

"MY LORD,—As I cannot but be affected with his majesty's most pious desires and yours, that the Church of England should be furnished with a pious and learned ministry; and that as a means conducing thereunto, a mayntenance in all places should be settled on them, apportionable to the dignity and utility of their office, sufficient for their vindication from contempt, and for encouragement to industry, soe I confesse myself not a little surprised at the unneighbourly attempts of some of the inhabitants of Wivelsfield, whereby they endeavour to devolve the whole burden on my shoulders. * * *

"Your lordship knows that if I can produce greater evidences than the word of a gentleman and the conjectural testimony of my adversaries, that the tythes of Wivelsfield belong to me without exception or reserve, in as ample a manner as any tythes appertayne to any gentleman in Englande; though persuasion may doe much, there is no law as yet extant can enforce me to submit to my fellow parishioners in this case, nor is there reason that there should, till one be established soe comprehensive as to take in all the laymen in England besydes myselfe.

"My lord, my grandfather before me, and myselfe, out of the natural addiction we had to a scholar's company, and the respect we bore to a divine function, did uninterruptedly entertayne some student as a companion, to whom we did not only show the civility of a gentleman, but in consideration of his office in the parish, we allowed some salary, not out of necessity, but as we always hoped, out of charity, till the late sad times, when the sword was supreme arbiter in all cases, both ecclesiastical and civil. * * *

"Many of my good neighbours were such good friends to the Church of England as not only to suffer but to introduce

an unlearned and unordayned maultman to be their minister, who endeavoured to compel me to mayntayne him, by giving him over all the tithes, whom I judged worthy of none."

He concludes by stating "that in submission to his majesty's holy desires, I am ready to entertayne a minister as formerly, allowing him 'a noble salary,' on condition that he be of my own election, without stint or limitation, subject to the approval of his lordship."

Doubtless it was one of the silenced students who wrote this plaintive farewell on the outer leaf of the register:—
"Χαίρετε νῦν, φίλοι, νῦν γὰρ σιγάν δεῖ."

Here perhaps it may be allowed to introduce a few of those "querelæ," with which the arrival of intrusive ministers elsewhere are recorded. In the register of East Lavant, there is this account of one:—

"29th Oct^r. 1653. Rich^d Batsworth was approved of, and sworn to be parish minister for the sayd parish, according to an act of parliament in the case made and provided.

"R^p BOUGHTON."

"He was a man of low stature, very violent for the rebels, and a plunderer of the royalists, particularly of the Morley family. He had some learning, a great deal of chicanery, though seldom more than one coat, which for some time he wore the wrong side out (its right side was seen only on Sundays), till it was almost worn out, and then he had a new one, which he used in the same manner."

The death of a silenced rector of Staplehurst is thus recorded in the register of that parish, in the year 1642,—*"Johannes Browne, rector et egregiè doctus, sed oppidanorum injuriis, et temporum infelicitate sequestratus ab ecclesiâ, suum infortunium deplorans, inimicorum malitiam condonans, Staplehursti quamvis indigno pacem ac salutem exoptans, mortem obiit June 6, 1645."* Then follows this account of another rector: *"Henricus Kent, Cantab^{us} et socius Collegii Reg^{is} rector ecclesiæ parochialis de Staplehurst, institutus sexto die Novembris, 1645, et ejusdem anni decimo septimo die Nov^{ris} inductus. Hujusdem ecclesiæ possessionem non sine multorum oppositionibus accepit, sed non-ullorum suffragiis electus et suo*

jure legali sustentatus, per ordinem parliamenti specialem liberam tandem prædicandi potestatem habuit. O tempora! O mores! *ἐὰν γὰρ εὐαγγελίζωμαι, οὐκ ἔστι μοι καύχημα· ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι ἐπίκειται· οὐαὶ δέ μοι ἐστὶν ἐὰν μὴ εὐαγγελίζωμαι.* 1 Cor. ix, 16.”²⁰

To return to our correspondents.

The answer not being considered satisfactory, the bishop summons his worthy friend to his lodgings at Dr. Philip King's house, in St. Martin's Lane, and directs him to bring his grant with him.

“ My Lord,—”Tis my unhappiness that, being confined to my chamber by sickness, I am necessitated to send my deputy. * * * My lord, I thought my unconstrained concessions might have proved satisfactory to the parish, though something dissatisfactory to your lordsh^p, in regard to your unacquaintedness in the cause; but my parishioners not accepting them, and your lords^p, as I suppose, acquiescing in them, I have, in obedience to your lords^p, sent up my grant. * * * In case your lords^p should possibly conceive my grounds in law not to be so weighty, I shall in no wise refuse the tryall of the scales of the public justice of the kingdom * * * I could acquaint your lords^p of the violent breaking open of the church doors on the 30th of March last, to make way for an unordayned, illiterate, schismatical, fanatical fellow, to preach as any the country yields, but that I fear I should kindle your lordship too much against them, which is all one as if a man should, in the words of Aristotle, *κάνωνι ᾧ τις μέλλει χρῆσθαι ποίησαι στρέβλον*.—Only thus much more I must say, that, on my son's demanding by what authority he came with a hundred fanatics to preach, he answered, ‘ Upon the desire of the parish;’ and when he asked him of whom of the parish? Thomas Hunt, who had formerly brought in the maltman to supply the place, (where he continued too long,) answered, ‘ I desired him.’ Thomas Godman, also stepped up, and sayd his father desired him, saying ‘ he had more to do there than any one else, his father being churchwarden,’ bidding him go

²⁰ He lived long enough to gain the affections even of his opponents, as Richard Burney, minister of Old Romney, “ who worthily honoured Mr. Kent,” doth testify:—“ In memoriam redivivam Henrici de Kancio, Totus annus delet, Fama redolet tota quia Caritas non fuit, Caritas est.”

“ July 15, 1650.

Sept. 25, 1651.”

on against all opposition; and when my son told him your lordship would give them little thanks for this action, Thomas Godman answered 'that he had acquainted the bishop, who bid them get whom they would;' which put an end to the dispute.

"I could acquaint your lords^p with much more, which cannot be contained within the narrow limits of a letter, 'quæ non debet implere sinistram manum.' * * * Your lordship's solicitousness for the good of the church as well as your dignity constrain me to subscribe myselfe

"Your lordship's most humble servant,
Morehouse, Maii 27, 1661. "THOS. MORE."

To the letter of the bishop, in which he decrees that Mr. More should pay £30. a year "to such an able and orthodox minister as he should approve of, and that the parishioners should make such an addition thereunto as may encourage a man of parts to live amongst them." Mr. More replies, "that though there are many precedents in parishes in Sussex, and elsewhere, where the grantees enjoy their tithes with little or no reservation, still that I may not give any discouragement to the zeale of my parishioners in quenching the smoking flax; or, by putting out those scintillæ gratiæ, which, by cherishing, may come to a flame, if I should condescend to give xx^l. per annum, I presume it will give satisfaction to his majesty and to your lordship; and this I am contented to doe upon my parishioners giving xxx^l. a yeare, and that I may have my tithes duly and quietly, without molestation or suites of law. My lord, he that contends with a multitude, being bellua multorum capitem, had need be strongly armed, and I must ever acknowledge myselfe in the zenith of my gratitude to your lords^p, for your great care of preserving me from being swallowed up by that devouring hydra, in furnishing me with such weapons as St. Paul found useful in his fight with beasts at Ephesus, which emboldens me to ranke myselfe amongst the meanest and humblest of your lordship's humble servants,

"THOS. MORE."

"Postscript.—My Lord,—Not knowing in what character I am presented to your lordship by my parishioners, I am enforced to make some expressions in my own vindication,

which is that I feare not to be taxed for disloyalty to my prince or apostacy from the Church of England, in declining the discipline or government thereof, or in slighting the exquisite composure of the Common Prayer Book, a jewel I have ever held of that high esteeme and price, that I have constantly caused it to be read in my house and family, in the greatest heat of these distractions, and in the worst of times."

Death soon put an end to these troubles and disputes with his neighbours; he died in February, 1663, and a marble slab bears this inscription to his memory:—

" *Memoriæ sacrum* THOMÆ MORE,
Armigeri,
Sta Lector; quid opes, Facundia
Stemmata prosint,
Quid soboles, a me discito;
Disce mori."

EASTBOURNE.²¹

The oldest register of this parish begins with the year 1558; but probably the earliest parish record is a churchwarden's book without a date, in which the following entry occurs referring to one of the many inroads made by the French upon our coasts in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries, and a more simple or more striking picture of the miseries of war cannot well be conceived.

"I gave to the women that had their houses burned, and their husbands slaine, and their goods taken away, 2s. 6d.

In the year 1603 Archbishop Whitgift addressed a letter to Dr. Watson, bishop of Chichester, inquiring as to the condition of the clergy and of the parishes in his diocese, and after many inquiries he adds,

"After my heartye commendations to your lordship, the matters I now desire to be advertised of with all convenient speed are these:—

"First. The certaine number of those who doe receive the communion in everie several parishe.

"Second. The certaine number of everie man recusant,

²¹ I have to return my best thanks to Mrs. Willard and to the Rev. Thomas Pitman, for their kind communications respecting this parish.

inhabitinge in every several parishe within their several jurisdictions, without specifying their particular names, and likewise the certaine number of every woman recusant, distinct from the men in manner as afore.

“ And thus praying your lordship to be very careful in the premises, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God.”

The answers of Rich. Vernon, vicar of Eastbourne, made the 8th day of Aug. 1603.

“ First. There are in the parish of Eastbourne about five hundred persons that usually do receave the communion.

“ Second. There is only one gent, a widow, recusant in the parish.”

“ Third. Every inhabitant, except the gentlewoman recusant, and one Scottish man which hath been excommunicated these 4 years, receaveth the holy communion, both man and woman.”

A hundred and twenty years passed away and similar inquiries were again made by Dr. Waddington, bishop of Chichester, in 1724; and the answers given with respect to Eastbourne were, that the population did consist of a hundred and fifty families, two of whom were Papists, two Presbyterian. The sacrament was administered eight times a year, and the number of communicants were about one hundred.

The answers returned to these inquiries at these respective periods prove the great progress that dissent had made in the diocese, and that the number of communicants had greatly fallen off. The minister of Poynings in his replies in 1603 states that there are no recusants inhabitants within the parish, and there are none, either man or woman, who refuse to receave orderly the communion. In 1724 of eighteen families, one was Anabaptist, but no Papists; the service was supplied from Lewes, and the number of communicants was twenty-five. “ In this parish of Hangleton ” says the incumbent of Hangleton “ whereof I am parson, the whole parish consisteth of but one house, and there are about sixteen communicants. In 1724, the report is that the number of families are five, the biggest of which are Quakers. That the altar stood against the north wall without any rail, that there had been no communion within the memory of

man, and that the parsonage-house had been destroyed by lightning many years ago.²² The pastor of Bexhill and Brightling, Dr. Pic, gives a very favourable account of his flock. "In my parish of Bexhill, the communicants are two hundred and twenty-five; in Brightling one hundred and ninety-five; and in neither of these parishes is there any man or woman recusant, or backwards in religion, and there is no one that doth not receive the communion orderly. In 1724 the number of communicants had dwindled down, in Bexhill to about thirty, and at Brightling to about forty." At West Fyrlé, at the earlier period, there were eight men and nine women who would not receive the communion; at the latter time, of the thirty-five families who lived there, eight were Papists, four Anabaptists, and one Presbyterian; at All Saints, in Hastings, the number of communicants was reduced from two hundred and forty-seven, in 1603, to about forty, in 1724; and at Ditchling the number at the former period was about two hundred, none refusing to receive the sacrament; in 1724, of about eighty families residing there, twenty-five were Anabaptists, ten were other Dissenters, and the number of communicants was thirty-five.

"Jan. 4th, 1616. Clemence Fennell, the widow of Robert Fennell, gentleman, and very religious, charitable, and a gentlewoman of excellent good qualities, of whom the parish will have a wonderful greate losse, was buried, Feb. 8th. Mary, the wife of John Foster, was buried, a godly gentlewoman and very religious."

"1632, July 17th. Mr. John Foster, a worthy and religious gent, was buried, whom all the parish, rich and poor, gentlemen and yeomen, and all there, will greatly want in time to come."

"1648. Benjamin, the son of Mr. John Boulte, minister of Eastbourne, was born on Sat^y about 4 o'clock in the mor^g the 21st Oct., and was baptised on Sunday the 22d by me his father, it being my 23d child."

"1649. Timothy, son of me, John Boulte, minister of

²² "Through the sacred Providence of Almighty God, the old church register of Portslade was burnt by lightening, together with the parsonage-house of Hangleton, on the Thursday, the 31st May, betweene 4 and 6 o'clock in the morning, 1666; John Temple Clarke being the rector thereof." (Portslade Register.)

Eastbourne, was born on Sat^y 13th day of Oct. and was baptised on the 15th by me his father."

"1650. Edward, the son of John Boulte, minister of Eastbourne, was born on Wednesday, and was baptised on Thursday the 12th, the said Edward being my five and twentieth child. Ita testor, J. Boulte."

"1651. Rich. Boulte, the son of me John Boulte, was born Jan^y 19th, and was baptised Jan^y 21st, he being my 26th child."

"John Boulte, minister of East Bourne, and Mrs. Cicely Forde, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, were marryed, Sept^r 9th, 1658."

Those who take an interest in this patriarch will read with regret the following entry:—

"John Boulte inducted 1648; died 1660, or perhaps ejected." ²³

"1658. John Waters, an aged atheist, that absented himself from the sanctuary and ordinances of Christ, ten years together, was buried the 26th March."

"Paid for an hour-glass, *xiid.*"

The iron frame in which the hour-glass was placed is still to be found attached to the pulpit in a few of the Sussex churches. An hour was the usual limit to the sermon, but this time was sometimes exceeded, for it is upon record that Cranmer cautioned his friend Latimer "not to stand longer in the pulpit than an hour and half at most."

"1674. Paid to J. Russell, for keeping Mary Peeper, 2 weeks and 3 days, 6s.; to Goody Russell, for laying her out, 1s.; disbursed for bread and beer, at her funeral, 2s. 2d." No one will be surprised to hear that not long after the inhabitants assembled in vestry, and declared that great abuses in the administration of the poor-law had taken place, and a resolution was passed, that all recipients of relief should wear a badge upon the right side of their upper garment, and if the overseer relieved any other than these, he had no allowance for their account.

Now that we are upon parish matters, it may not be uninteresting to see how, as early as 1604, a bond of apprenticeship, for a servant in husbandry, was drawn up.

²³ He is not mentioned by Calamy in his list of the ejected ministers of Sussex.

“1604, 20th July. George Job, with his mother's consent, put himself apprentice to Thos. Page, of Frantfield, for 7 years following, being bound with 7 single pence: the said Thomas is to teach the said George the full knowledge of husbandry, and to find him sufficient meat, drink, and cloth, linen and woollen, hose and shoes, good lodging, and all things needful for such an apprentice, both in sickness and in health, and to double apparel at the end of his years, and also to give the said George 4*d*. every quarter; and to this end the s^d Thomas hath received of widow Job two good sheep and 10*s*. in money; also the s^d George is faithfully, honestly, and truly to perform the duties of such servant, in doing his master's business, in keeping his secrets lawful to be kept, in not using to ale-houses, nor unlawful games without his master's consent, and all other duties needful for such a servant, and not to marry without his master's consent.” (Frantfield Reg.)

As the opinions and practice of an intelligent country gentleman in farming, in the middle of the 17th century, is a subject of some interest, it may be allowed here to quote those of Mr. Walter Burrell as they are recorded by his friend Dr. Ray. “And now” he writes “that I have had occasion to mention this worthy gentleman, give me leave to insert a few observations referring to husbandry, communicated by him in occasional discourse on those subjects. “Corn or any other grain the longer it continues in the ground, or the earlier it is sown, *cæteris paribus*, the better laden it is, and the berry more plump, full, and weighty, and of stronger nourishment, as for example, winter oats are better than summer oats, beans set in Feb^r are better than those set in March &c.”²⁴

“The most effectual way to prevent smutting or burning of any corn is to lime it before you sow it, as is found by daily experience in Sussex, where since this practice of liming they have no burnt corn, whereas before they had abundance. They lime it thus, first, they wet the corn a little to make it stick, and then sift or sprinkle powdered lime upon it.”

“He uses to plow with his oxen endways, or all in one file,

²⁴ The young vegetable requires sleep, the long sleep of winter nights, for the full development of its future powers.

and not to yoke them by pairs, whereby he finds a double advantage. 1st. He by this means loseth no part of the strength of any ox, whereas breastwise, it is very hard so evenly to match them as that a great part of the strength of some of them be not rendered useless. 2d. In this way, a wet and clay ground is not so much poached by the feet of the oxen."

"He hath practised to burn the ends of all the posts which he sets into the ground to a coal on the outside, whereby they continue a long time without rotting, which otherwise would suddenly decay."

"He first introduced the use of fern for burning of lime, which serves that purpose as well as wood, the flame thereof being very vehement, and is far cheaper." (P. 192, Collection of English Words, by John Ray, 1691.)

WADHURST.

"Johannes Hatley, Hallingsfieldi in Com^{tu} Cantabridgiensi natus, Artium Magister, præsentatus fuit ad vicariam perpetuam de Wadhurst a Thoma Ainscomb patre, et Thoma Ainscomb filio, armigeris.²⁵ Institutus a Thoma Nevill, decano Cantabridgiensi, Archiepiscopali sede Cantuarensi vacante, inductus ante a clarissimo et doctissimo viro Georgio Carletono amicissimo suo, qui singulari suâ doctrinâ meruit ut inter ordinarios capellanos illustrissimi Principis Caroli innumeraretur, et postea ad sedem episcopalem Landaphensis promoveretur die Martii vicesimo primo, A.D. 1603."

The George Carleton here referred to was vicar of Mayfield, then bishop of Llandaff, and, in 1619, bishop of Chichester. According to Wood "he was educated in grammar learning by the care of the northern apostle, Bernard Gilpin, who sent him to St. Edmund Hall in 1576, and exhibited to his studies, and took care that nothing should be wanting to advance his pregnant parts . . . While he remained in that college he was esteemed a good orator and poet, but as years came on, a better disputant in divinity than he had before

²⁵ Thomas Anscomb, the younger, had one only son whom he sent to Wadham College, Oxford; the young man fell sick, and after a long illness he died there, having been treated with every kindness and attention by his College. The grateful father gave the living of Wadhurst to the College for ever.

been in philosophy. He was also well versed in the fathers and schoolmen, and wanted nothing that might make him a complete theologist. . . . He was a person of a solid judgment and of various reading, a bitter enemy to the Papists, and a severe Calvinist."

"Baptised, 17th Sept. 1611, Margaret, daughter of Thos. Poot; the mother was a way goer."

"April 13th, buried ould mother Stone; this woman was a French woman, and lived 110 years."

"1623. Buried, Feb. 9th, Thomas Ballarde, esquire.

*"Sic moritur virtus, vivit cum corpore tumbo,
Insignis Ballarde jaces, sic sidera cœli
Morte petis Christo.
Quis morum candor! Quæ clara scientia, quæque
Juncta fide probitas? Quæ sedula cura juvandi
Quid poteras nobis, lumen dum vita fuisti.
Nunc te Christus habet, sumus nos lumine nescii."*

"Exit Annus 1623. This year fell the greatest snow which was in man's memory; it did abide from the end of January till April."

"Buried John Pounder. This man lived 105 years, or as he numbered his age 112. At the least he left behind him a great posterity of nephews, nieces and their children."

"Exit Annus 1626. This yeare was so colde and wett that harvest was not in while Hallowtide."

Notices of a like nature to these are frequently found in parish registers. The rector of East Hoathly used both pen



and pencil to record the fact of a singular appearance in the heavens on the 17th of Feb. 1638. "A parhelion on each side of the sun was seene by many, with a bow over the true sun, with the ends upwards in the morning in this forme."

"Consider the work of God, for who can make that straight which he has made crooked." (Eccles. vii, 13.)

“ And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth distress of nations with perplexity ; the sea and the waves roaring.” (Luke, xxi, 28).

The distress of nations with perplexity which soon followed no doubt confirmed him in his belief in the awful omen.

Mention, too, is made in the same register of “a very great snow which fell on the 3d of May, 1698, in the evening, which hung upon the branches of the trees as in the depth of winter, and which was very visible upon the hills the next day till ten or eleven o’clock in the morning.”

1630. “ Mem. Whereas Mr. Thos. Whitefeild, of Worth, in the county of Surrey, esquire, being well affected to the parish of Wadhurst, gave, besydes the three alms-houses and twelve cordes of woode, ten poundes by the yeare, the said ten pounds was, in 1633, employed to the payment of the general sesse of the poor, whereby the s^d money given to be disposed to the mayntenance of the poor was diverted from the right ends, and served to abate the charge of the riche assessed in the said sesse. Whereupon John Hatley, vicar of Wadhurst, then one of the feoffees, opposed this act as ungodly and unjust ; and the wrytings being showed whereby the ten pounds annuity was conveyghed, it was found that the said ten pounds was by them to be disposed to the extended use of the poore, and not to serve to the abatement of the charge of the rich. This the above-named John Hatley thought fit to sett downe here, forasmuch as he suffered many foule words for opposing this wrong ; and least any ill-disposed person should attempt to do it hereafter, or any man, not knowing the purport of the conveyghance, should ignorantly fall into the ruine of sacrilege. This to be true, I, Johannes Hatley, minister Verbi Dei, testor coram Deo in verbo ministri, totum hoc verum esse.”

Many are the Briefs recorded in the register of this and other parishes for the relief of general and individual calamity, and they came with all the influence of high authority. In Horsted-Keynes a widow of Oxford was by order of the Lord High Protector relieved in this way, and six shillings and a brasse pennie were collected for her ; and in 1677 there was

collected in the parish church of Eastbourne "for the use of Nicholas, Chistopherus, Theodore Johanni, Candia merchants and Turkish captives, recommended by the king in writing through Williamson the secretary, 8s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

The Brief for the poor Palatines, who, in the year 1709, fled for refuge in great numbers from the persecution of Louis XIV, was generally responded to. This case has been referred to in the *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. III, p. 159; and it is there stated that about 500 families were transplanted to Ireland; and a query is there introduced as to what had become of them.

The following extract from an Irish newspaper, giving an account of the last election for the county of Limerick, shows in a very interesting manner the happy and prosperous condition of these wise and well-conducted settlers:—"On the two first days of the polling, there had been a neck-and-neck race between Captain Dickson and Mr. Gould, but at last the scale was turned entirely in favour of the latter by the tenantry of Lord Southwell, all of whom came in and voted for Mr. Gould. Lord Southwell is a Roman Catholic, and all his tenantry are Protestants. They are the descendants of German farmers, who settled more than a century ago upon the estates of an ancestor of the present Lord Southwell, who afforded them shelter and encouragement. They are still known in the county by the name of Palatines, and have been distinguished by their peaceable habits and persevering industry. Holding their farms at moderate rents, those thrifty people have been able to bear up against the famine which had produced such havoc among the tenantry on other estates, and so greatly reduced the general constituency."

Another object of charity provided for by Briefs, and to which Mr. Burrell was a frequent contributor, were the prisoners at Dynant and Belisle. Who these were was also a doubtful point; but this, too, has been cleared up by Mr. Blaauw's assistance, in the discovery of a very interesting work in quarto, entitled, 'A true Relation of the Cruelties and Barbarities of the French upon the English Prisoners of War; being a Journal of their Travels from Dinan in Brittany to Thoulon in Provence and back again, in 1684. By Richard Strutton, who was taken in the ship 'Merry Frigat,' right off Portland,

by a privateer of St. Maloes.' He and several hundred more prisoners were treated with great cruelty on their march through France by their guards; and when they passed through the Catholic parts of that country, they were subjected to every sort of insult and ill treatment. "At a place called Quadero," he says, "we were flouted and scoffed at by the people all the way we passed; they calling us rebellious rogues for fighting against our lawful king, King James, one who, as they say, was as righteous as a God, and with all running out strangely against King William, calling him Jack Orange, and saying they would cut his throat in a short time, and make us all galley slaves. Very different was their case when they got into the Protestant parts of France; the inhabitants commiserating and assisting them in every way, so much so, that it was necessary to guard them closely to prevent a rescue. "I must needs say," exclaims Strutton of the French Protestants, "that I do verily believe they are the most faithful and charitable people that lay any claim to the title of Protestants upon earth;" and again, "I shall say no more than this, that I wish all English people that live under the sweetest embrace of the most wholesomest laws upon the earth, where the most lucent beams of the most holy Gospel of Christ are spread abroad, where every man holdeth in right and property all that he possesseth there,—I wish they had but the charity and faith as some of the distressed Protestants of France have."

Another claimant for the charitable assistance of the Brief were the English fisheries. In the parish of Chailey, in 1661, "there was collected the full summe of twenty-four shillings for advancing the trade of fishing." A century before it wanted help, and the mode of rendering it is a very curious one. The 1st of Elizabeth enacts, "that for the increase of the provision of fish by the more usual and common eating of it, every Wednesday and Saturday in the year, excepting Christmas week and Easter week, shall be considered fish days; and any one eating flesh on those days was liable to a penalty of three pounds, or three months' imprisonment." In cases of sickness "one competent dish of flesh of one kind and no more," was allowed, which was to be flanked by "three full competent usual dishes of sea-fish of sundry kinds,

either fresh or salt." That there might be no mistake as to the object of this statute, it is stated that it was "purposely intended and meant politickly for the increase of fishermen and mariners, and the repaying of port towns and navigation; and whoever, by preaching, or teaching, or writing, notified that any eating of fish or forbearing from flesh is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news are and ought to be."

"Consider," says the Homily on Fasting, urging obedience to this law, "the decay of the towns nigh the seas, which should be most ready, by the number of the people there, to repulse the enemy, and we which dwell farther off upon the land, having them as our buckler, to defend us, should be the more in safety. If they be our neighbours, why should we not wish them to prosper? If they be our defence, as nighest at hand to repel the enemy, to keep out the rage of the seas which else would break upon our pastures, why should we not cherish them?"

Judging from the following answer of the vicar of Eastbourne, in 1603, as to the value of the vicarage, as might well be expected, neither the law nor the exhortation produced much effect. "The vicaridge is excessively valued in the king's books at 40 marks, it not being worth nearlye the same value by reason of the great decay of fishinge, which to the vicar within the memory of man hath been yearly worth xx*l*6*s*., but now is not worth xx*s*."

"This yeare, Feb. 17th, the steeple of the church at Wadhurst was rent and blowne up in the shaft, and much havoc done in the church by a fearful thunder and lightning; the like had happened before about thirty and six years to the same steeple, and before that about twenty years."

The church at Mayfield was struck by lightning in 1621, and nearly shattered to pieces; and Withyham church was burnt to the ground in a "tempest of thunder and lightning," on the 16th of June, 1663.

March 4th, 1632. "Mem. According to the statute made and provided in case of eating flesh, liberty is given unto John Hatley, vicar of Wadhurst, to eate flesh in this time of

abstinence, in regard to the sickness which he is not yet recovered (if the same statute be in force), the liberty to continue for the space of eight days, and no longer, unless the sayd sicknes and weaknes contineuing, it be againe renewed.

“JOHN HATLEY, Vicar of Wadhurst.

“Teste, THOS. STACE, Churchwarden.”

The same license is granted, but more formally in the following case recorded in the parish register of Staplehurst, in Kent. “Be it known unto all men by these presents, that I, James Bowyer, clarke, and curate of the church of Staplehurst, in the county of Kent, have licensed, and by these presents do license, William Tanner, yeoman, being at this tyme sicke and visited by the mighty hand of God, to eate fleshe, and to use such meates as shall seem best to him for the recovery of his health. In witness whereof I have hereto sett my hand, the 23d day of Marche, in the 37th yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of Englande, Ffrance, and Irelande, queene, defender of the faith.

“Per me, J. BOWYER.”

“1633, 11th June, Anne Diplock was whipped for a rogue.”

“10th Dec. John Palmer and Alice his wife were whipped for rogues. 23d, Thomasina Hemming, John Ballard, Margery Oiles, Robert Spray, and John Sargent whipped.”²⁶

There are many other cases of whipping recorded about this time, and it was inflicted upon both sexes very impartially; indeed, the beadle, the stocks, and the whipping-post²⁷ were prominent features in every village. The following memorandum is taken from the register of Newtimber,—“Sept^r, An. Dom. 1615, Robert Kinge, beinge about fiftene years of age, borne, as he confesseth, at Kynbury, in the countie of Berkshire, was taken in the parish of Newtimber, vagrant, and there whipped according to the lawe, for his conduct to the parish of Kynbury aferesaid, being the place of his abode;” this punishment being, as it would seem, inflicted for the wrong done to the parish which he had deserted,

²⁶ *Glouc.* “My masters of St. Albans, have you not beadles in your town,
And things called whips

May. “Yes, my lord, if it please your Grace.”—*Shakespeare.*

²⁷ In 1673 Sir John Trevor paid “the taxes for the stocks and whipping-post, and pressing soldiers, £1. 10s. 6d.” (*Glynde Account Book.*)

and not to that into which he had intruded. Had this happened forty years before, he would probably have been hanged; such at least was the practice in the north of England. The register of St. Nicholas, Durham, records the fact that five persons were hanged in one day, some of them bearing old north country names, as Featherstone and Fenwicke, simply because they were Egyptians.²⁸

“1635, 23d Aug. Baptised Nicholas, son of Elizabeth Foster; this childe was about ten years old before he was baptised, his mother being then a runagate when hee was borne, and the child unbaptised till this yeare.”

“1638, Nov. 13th. Was buried Thos. Upton, the Archimedes of Wadburst. This was by trade a glover, a joiner, a carpenter, and an instrument maker; he was a curious workman for jacks, clocks, stoves, and vices for glaziers.”

Exit Annus Dom. 1631. This yeare was an infectious summer, so that verie many died in many places elsewhere in Sussex, also especially in the Downes.

Numerus Baptizatorum, 40; Sepultorum, 54.

The number of deaths which occurred in thirty-seven parishes in, and in the immediate neighbourhood of, the Downes amounted, in 1637, to 169. In the year 1638, they were 398, and in the following year 328. The parishes in the Weald almost universally show a very large increase of burials, nor did this mortality much decrease in the following year, 1639.

The little village of Pyecombe, in the neighbourhood of Brighton, suffered not only on this but on other occasions very severely. The following entry records the ravages of the plague on a former occasion. “They which died of the plague in 1603, Edw^d Luxford, Anne Clewer, Robert the son of Anne, Tho^s Alchorne the sonne of Tho^s Alchorne, were buried the xiiith Sept^r; Edward the sonne of Tho^s Alchorne, the xiiiith; Henry Smith was buried the xxiii^d; Edward Rowlande, on the iii^d of Oct^r; Elizath Rowlande, on the vith; Tho^s Alchorne, sen^r, on the xth; Martha Alchorne, his daughter, on the xiith; R^d Winfeilde, on the xxth; Joanne Luxford, widow, on the ivth Nov.; Tho^s Wymerke, the xviith; John Boniface, the xxviiith of Dec^r; John Sumner, on the vth April, 1604.”

²⁸ Burn's Register.

So many deaths occurring within so short a time, in a very limited population, probably drove away the rest of the inhabitants, and gave rise to a tradition which still exists, that nearly all the inhabitants of the parish were at one time swept away by the plague; and that a stone, still existing in the churchyard, marks the grave of the last man who alone escaped, settled for a short time at Pangdean, and then returned to die in his native place. A great quantity of human bones was lately found lying in one heap in the corner of the churchyard. The following record indicates that the terror of infection was felt for many years.

“1678. Damaris, the wife of Robert Gower, was buried Nov. 1st, 1674 (*sine exequiis sepulta, non ob malum morale sed ob infectionem morbillorum*), a good christian.” At the last visitation of the cholera this village suffered severely. Surely some stringent sanitary measures should be applied forthwith to this unhappy seat of periodical disease.

There is no account of the number of deaths in this parish in the sickly year of 1638, but in the following year, which was almost as fatal in Sussex, the deaths had increased seven-fold over those of 1636.

“Exit Annus 1639. This yeare was the great sea battell neare unto Dover, betwixt the mighty Armado of Spaine, riding near our coasts neare Deale, and the Hollanders, wherein the mighty Armado consisting of great shippes was vanquished by the Hollanders. The winter was exceeding windy and tempestuous, and therefore there was much shipwreck.”

This was Van Tromp's great victory; the number of “great shippe's vanquished by the Hollanders was 87, of which 8 only reached Dunkirk in safety; 8000 Spaniards were killed or drowned, and 6000 were wounded or taken prisoners.”

“In this summer was a great expedition in Scotland, upon the mutinies there, but God inclined the heart of the king graciously to grant the Scott's peace.”

“Exit Annus 1640. In this yeare the Scotts entered this kingdome; the first parliament brake, and a second one was assembled, in which were various consultations about the affaires of the kingdome.”

“ Registrum Ecclesiæ Wadhursturiensis,
Exhibens
Tres maximas humanæ vitæ mutationes,
Γέννησιν—Γάμον—Θάνατον.

Flet natus, ridet nuptus, mox pallida finem
Tristibus et lætis mors positura venit

Anno salutis M.DC.LVI.
Domino John Barham et John Gilbert
Guardianis. Jac. Wilcoxo Ministro,
Πάντων ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ.”

The rector of the neighbouring parish of Ticehurst took for his motto and recorded it in the register, in 1578. “O Lord, I am not puffed in minde, I have no scornful thoughts, I do not exercise myselfe in things that be too high for me, but I am even as a childe that is weaned.”

“1683, Oct. 8th. Buryed, old Gregory Markwick, of Ticehurst, being above 85 years old; the same day died old Peter Sparkes, of Salehurst, being above 126 yeares²⁹ old by his own computation.”

“1677. Buryed, old William Kitchener, he gave five pounds to the poore, and tenn shillings yearly to the ancientest poore of this parish, and likewise tenn shillings for a sermon on Ascension daye for ever.”

“Feb. 6th. Baptised Mary, daughter of Edw^d and Elizth Luke; she was borne the same day, which was the beginning of the thaw upon a very great snow and frost that had held for 18 weeks, when not only the Thames but part of the sea had been frozen.”

“Jacobus Wilcocke indignissimus hujus loci minister cum charissimâ uxore Mariâ in eodem lectulo suaviter dormientes expectant restitutionem. Veni Domine Jesus! veni cito!

“July 16th. Eleonora Woodgate et Sarah Moore in Ecclesiâ

²⁹ A remarkable case of longevity in modern days was afforded by the parish of Bexhill, when, on the 4th of June, 1819, forty-six men, selected from the whole male population, which did not exceed one thousand, assembled at the Bell Inn, there to commemorate the 81st anniversary of the birth of George III; of twenty-five there present, the average age was more than eighty-one; of fifteen, seventy-one; and of the six, who rung a merry peal on the church bells, sixty-one years. One of the party died at one hundred and three, six of them were above ninety, and eight of them reached their eighty-third year.

Parochiali inter Divinorum solemnia palam publicè et solemniter denunciatae et declaratae fuerunt, pro excommunicatis."

"5th April. Eleonora Woodgate et Sarah Moore in Ecclesiâ Parochiali inter Divinorum solemnia palam publicè et solemniter pœnitentiam agebant."

1688, Nov. 4th. The prince of Orange invaded England and landed at Torbay, nigh to Dartmouth. Feb. 13th. William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England; a thanksgiving day for deliverance from papacy and arbitrary power."

"1690. Baptised, Elizth daughter of Francis and Anne Comber; this child was heard crying in the wombe before it was borne."

POYNINGS.

"The xviiith day of April, 1608, was buried John Skerry, a poore man, that died in the place stable, and being brought half naked with his face bare, the parson would not burye him soe, but first he gave a sheete, and caused him to be sacked therein, and they buried him more Christian-like, being much grieved to see him brought soe unto the grave; and at this time did one Thatcher dwell at the place."

His indignation probably was roused, not because he was brought to his grave in a winding-sheet, but on account of the insufficiency of it; for so lately as in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was the custom to bury them so, "earth to earth," and not in coffins. The register of St. Michael's, in Litchfield, in 1632, states, as something worthy of note, "that Andrew, the sonne of William Burnes, was buried with a coffin."³⁰

To those whom it may concern, the following account of the rights of the incumbent of this parish may not be uninteresting. "The glebe consists of 19 acres of plain land, and there is the depasturing of 50 sheep upon the Downs, and a right of commonage for 8 head of cattle. There are about 70 acres of land in Pyecombe, and the depasturing of 250 sheep upon Westenbury Hill, and of 11 head of cattle in the common fields."

In the year 1686 commissioners were appointed by Dr. Lake,

³⁰ Burn's Parish Registers.

bishop of Chichester, to report upon the condition of the several parish churches, and their furniture, in the diocese, and wretched indeed must have been the condition of many of them. The following are fair samples of the general returns. The church and chancel of this parish, Poynings, were reported to be in good repair, but the chancel very indecent, by reason of the pigeons dunging there, and the communion table very bad. At Portslade, the pulpit had no door and an ill canopy; the communion cup was battered and cracked. The pulpit at Old Shoreham was very weak, the steeple-floor decayed, an outchapel utterly ruinate, the cup cracked, no book for strange preachers' names, the church wall decayed, and the vicarage-house and barnes wholly ruinate. There had been no communion at Ovingdean within the memory of man; the steeple good but no bell in it; the small bell that belonged to it lying, without a clapper, in a private house. At Fairlight, the walls were not whited,³¹ the steeple ruinous and dangerous, one bell on the ground, and the other knocked to pieces. And at Winchelsea the bells were all sold but one; there was no linen cloth and napkin for the administration of the most blessed sacrament; no surplice; hogs were kept in the churchyard; and the parsonage-house had been pulled down, and the materials all sold by the Salamanca doctor's father, while he had the sequestration.³²

WOODMANCOTE.

" Anno domⁱ. 1666.

" Edmund Cooper,³³ d^r. of physick, parson of Woodmancote, by the gift of God, and of Edward, Lord Hyde, lord high chancellor of England, and of Oxford, earl of Claringdon.

" 6th August, 1670.

" The chimneys in the parlour and the parlour chamber were finished, the parlour floor layde, and all the ground pinning of the greater part of the house and barne layd, and

³¹ In almost every case the reverend commissioners recommend that the walls of the churches should be *white limed*.

³² Query, whether this person was the father of Titus Oates, who was born at Hastings, and studied at Salamanca.

³³ I am obliged to my friend the Rev. F. E. Tower for this amusing history of Dr. Cooper.

the stable layd out and floored, at the cost of D^r. Edmund Cooper, in the 5th year of his incumbency, and the 59th yeare of his age, who also made the floor in the hall chamber, and contrived the parlour chamber, and the little chamber for a mayd servant's lodging out of an ugly hole. * * * In short he did all that is good or seemly about the parsonage, to make it, of a dog-hole, a habitation for a man; quod successori suo bene vertat Deus, in all which the help of his wife Margaret's money was eminent; the living could not have done it.

“Margarete, the wife of Doctor Cooper, rector of this parish, was buried, the 7th day of March, 1672. Marito suo luctum reliquit; shee was the daughter of John Theobalds, in Kent, Esq., and Dorothea Culpepper, daughter of Sir Edw^d. Culpepper, of Wakehurst, in the county of Sussex, knight and baronet.

“On Christmas eve the doors of the chancel and two-thirds of the rayles in it, with all the locks and bolts, and the long pew on the south side, were made and sett up and finished, at the cost of D^r. Edmund Cooper, parson, both to be a handsome depository for the corps of his deceased wife, Margarite, and himselfe, if God shall soe please, and to seclude the say^d place and pew from usurpation, encroachment, and abuse, it being the parson's right; all this stood the doctor in £5. 'Tis now my vestry, and I let not in the crowd till I goe forth myselfe to read prayers.

“On the 1st of June D^r. Cooper pulled downe the great pew in the chancel, in which the family of the Wests had nestled themselves, by the permission of former parsons, so long that they would now have it to be their owne. The D^r, thinking there was no other way to be rid of the birds, but by destroying their nest, notwithstanding their big looks and threats, did downe with it. Having been once, above two years ago, by the mother of West, convented before the bishops about it, for keeping him out while it stood, who could find nothing for her, only requested the Doctor's leave for her sitting there, but now shee having been long gone and forsaken it and us, her son Jacob usurping the seat, and disdainig my leave, I have dispossessed in this manner, and now expect what he will doe by the law. Jacob West hath

declared how unwilling he is to part with it, by his boys bringing a chaire after him, to sitt in over the bare earth, which he did the next day, being Sunday, after the chancel doore was opened for the incomers, which made sport to the people, in that he looked like one who would have been glad to be welcome, bringing his stoole with him."

"In Oct^r Mr. Jacob West arrested D^r Cooper, on an action of trespass, God knows what, and the D^r ordered an appearance by his attorney, Mr. Whitpaine. In Nov^r Mr. Jacob West fell very sick, and employing D^r Cooper for his physician, was well recovered. This trust and kindness on Mr. West his part, and trustyness and acceptance on the Doctor's, begat terms of pacification between them. * * *"

Mr. Jacob West, however, having recovered, war was again declared.

"The assize being at East Grinstead on the 27th of March in this year, 1679, by my counsellor, Mr. John Gratwick, and my attorney, Mr. John Whitpaine, I demurred to Mr. Jacob West's indictment about the pew, they having had 40s. of me; and now I wait for what more Mr. Jacob West can and will do.—Dr. Cooper."

"1679. This year in May did Dr. Cooper cause two pews to be erected in the chancel on the south side, with old and new materials, changing the position of them that had been there before, enlarging them with new boards, back, bottom, and seats, * * * the mats for the seats of them both were provided at the Doctor's cost, and the locks and keys. These did the Doctor keep covered for sometime (after he had taken possession of them by seating his manservant, Nicholas Burt, in the one, and his maydservant, Elizabeth Cooke, in the other) with boards nayled over them, to prevent the intrusion of any pretenders by clambering or forcing them open either before or in church time, as had been done by the old one when it stood."

"This year, in July and August, the Doctor Cooper mended the old cracks in the chancel wall, and paved all about it with flints."

"Tho^s Floyd is angry at some graves of his kindred having

their tops a little taken off, and he, being now churchwarden, sides with Mr. West, for mischief to the doctor. * * *

“ The discontent that Thomas Floyd took at the taking off some of the heads of his graves, having joyned him with Mr. West, caused him to make a presentment at the visitation of the Bishop Carleton, held at Lewes, 17th Sept. 1679, which consisted of 3 or 4 articles, as the Doctor was informed, but of what matter he knew not, nor ever did inquire, but being wearied with the trouble and cost of building, and other molestations, and desirous of peace, he came to an agreement that the pews in the chancel should againe change their places, to be done at the doctor's cost, the presentment to be withdrawne, Floyd's graves to be made up within a foot or so of the chancel wall, and the graves of other families to remayn as they were, and others hereafter to be made as usually. I hope that now we may live at quiet hereafter, and that my successors will be content with that little room or pew in the chancel, which I have bought for them at soe deare a rate. Now I see not by all this but that for mine owne part I had better have sitten still, and have kept £20 in my purse, with ease and quietness.³⁴ The escucheons of arms also agreed to be set up again, and a lock and key for the south door of the church, to be given to the churchwardens. Yet I suppose that I have not betrayed my successor's title either to the chancel or the pews in it; for, as I take it, the argument makes it appear that Mr. West holds the pew of me, the parson, urged to grant it through the troublesomeness of the parish, and not by any title of his owne, which, if my successor like, he may continue to him, and my advice to my successor is that he would do so.”

The system of suspending escutcheons in churches is at least as old as Shakspeare's times.

“ His obscure funeral;
No trophy, sword, nor hatchment, o'er his bones.”—*Hamlet*.

³⁴ Many a traditionary story is told of Dr. Cooper to this day, at Woodmancote. How that he had a quarrel with the squire in the church, and literally drove him out; how that he built a chancel door as his own private entrance, because he said he would not enter the church in company with the common rabble of Woodmancote, and how that of the inscription over the chancel door,

“ Dr. R. Cooper,
1664. R. Vixit. 79,”

all that could be written by himself was so written.

The vigilance of official heralds was formerly exercised over these matters, and it is recorded by Wood (in his *Fasti, Oxon.*, ii, p. 23), that Sir W. Dugdale took care to “pull down several atchievements (commonly called hatchments), irregularly and against the law of arms hung up in any churches or chapels within the precincts of this province.” Dryden speaks of hanging up in a “fane,” below a victor’s buckler, “with arms reversed, the achievements of the foe.”

DITCHLING.

More spirit was shown, as is generally the case, by a fair lady, in a like warfare, which raged in the parish of Ditchling, about seventy years before, which, as it throws some light upon the mode in which such controversies were decided in those days, it may be well to give some account.

In the year 1607 a fierce dispute arose in that parish, between Mrs. Rawoode, the widow of the late, and Mrs. Price, the wife of the present, minister of the parish, touching their right to a pew in the church, which was reported to the ordinary, referred by him to the worshipful Mr. Archdeacon, and another judge of the ecclesiastical court at Lewes, and by them remitted to a sort of parish court at Ditchling, in manner as follows :—

“To our very lovinge ffriends the churchwardens, sidesmen, and parishioners of Ditchling, salutem in Christo.” After the stating the question in dispute, “they are directed to take three or four substantial men of the parish to their counsel, to determine the matter.” The decision is given against the widow, but with what result is shown in the conclusion of their report: “we will justifie at all tymes, upon our oathes, if need be, that, in this action, we have done no wronge, neither to Mrs. Rawoode, nor her daughter, Anne Warren, for three incumbents’ wives did sitt in the same seate before; and thus we have determined of this matter according to the authoritie given and directed unto us, truely and faithfullye, without partialitye, as in conscience we thought fit, and yet notwithstandinge the saide Anne Warren, by her mother’s advise, contrary to your ecclesiastical authoritie, and our order

and determination, still molesteth the said Mrs. Price, and, after a violent manner, keepeth the sayde pew, contrary to all right and conscience ; and thus humbly desiring that the sayde Mrs. Rawoode and her daughter Anne maye be sharply censured, for the manifest contempte given to your authoritie, and the breache of our order in this matter, and for the publike evil example given to the whole congregation ; and thus we humbly take our leaves, and commend you to Almighty God."

"Nov. 4th, anno Dom. 1607."

(Signed by two churchwardens, eleven sidesmen,
and eleven of the inhabitants.)

A subsequent entry, in which allusion is made to this quarrel, states, as the result thereof, "that a seat was built up in the prebend's chancel, at the right hand going out of the body of the church, being designedly built for the vicar's wife." So that there is reason to think the widow and her daughter held their ground in spite of "bell, book and candle."

Another controversy is thus recorded by the curate of Seaford in much later days. "1759. I, James Dormer, curate (after some difficulty), recovered from Mr. Swaine, of Bishopstone, the sum of 13s. 4d., as his real and actual due, as having the surplice fees of this place, for the incroachment of two stones, vulgarly called coffin stones. He did not belong to this worthy ancient corporation, and if he had, the ecclesiastical fee would nevertheless have been forthcoming. In testimony whereof I sign, J. D." "Well done, Dormer!" is the written exclamation of his admiring successor, the Rev. T. Hurdis.

"1688. Mary, the wife of Tho^s Dancy, was buried on the 12th of May, and no affidavit made and brought to be recorded, that she was buried in woollen, according to act of parliament for burying in woollen;³⁵ and on the 19th, I, John Nicholls, sent out my information thereof to Tho^s Beard, of

³⁵ This act, conceived in the same spirit with that of Elizabeth, enforcing the eating of fish on two days in the week, was passed in 1678.

"Odious in woollen, 'twould a saint provoke,
Were the last words which poor Narcissa spoke."

Herstpeirpoint, Esq^{re}, one of his majesty's justices of the peace, delivering it to Nicholas Marchant, one of the churchwardens, to deliver to the aforesaid Tho^s Beard, and he ordered Tho^s Dancy to pay 50s. into the hands of the overseers of Ditchling, to disburse to the poor thereof."

The following form of oath taken on these occasions is duly registered in the church books of Frant :—

"John Beale, of the parish of Frant, labourer, maketh oath, that the corps of a child of his, lately deceased, was not putt in, wrapt, or wound up, or buried, in any shirt, shift, sheet, or shroud, made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, or hair, gold or silver, or other than what is made of sheep's wool, nor in any coffin lined or cased with any cloth, stuff, or any other thing whatsoever made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or any other material but sheep's wool only. 1678."

RINGMER.

"This register book begun in the yeare of our Lord God 1623, and ended in the year of our Lord God 1653.

"As man is born a time to last
In time soe shall he die
So shall he arise againe
And live eternally."

The rector of the adjoining parish of Isfield took for his motto—"Each daye and night see that ye serve the Lord." And then to show how much men mind earthly things, he added—

"God made bees—and bees made honey,
God made man—and man made money."

"Sept. 3d, 1630, was buried a way going woman, found murdered in Mr. Hart's barne."

"June 11th, 1633, was buried Widow Bourne, an old recusant, living in the parish obscurely, and could not be found excommunicate. May 22d was buried Roger Porter, a poore man that died in Edw^d Foster's barne. Nov. 22d was buried John Hobs, so called, a poore way goer."

About thirty years later an act was passed for the better relief of the poor, on account of the great numbers of rogues

and vagabonds by which the country had been sorely infested, "many of whom wandering about did perish for want."

The register of the neighbouring parish Ripe, records the following burials. "William Wade, who died as a stranger, for whose mortuary I, John Goffe, parson of Ripe, had his upper garment, which was an old coate, and I receaved for the same 6s. 1634 I buried Alice Whitesides, Feb. 22d, who being but one weeke in the parish of Ripe, died as a stranger, for whose mortuary I, John Goffe, had a gowne of Elizabeth her daughter, price 10s."

In the month of June, 1811, a stone was placed on the south side of the road, opposite the church of Chart Magna, in Kent, with this inscription—"In memory of Ann West, widow, of this parish, who died 10th March, aged 59 years.

"The reverend rector being a hard
Austerely rigid man,
Within the walls of this church yard
He will not let me stand,
Unless a fee be paid to him
Two shillings and two pounds,
So to the memory of a friend
I here am now sit down."³⁶

"1641, May 25th were married Walter Sherwood (84 annos natus), and Joanne Goodwin (64 annos natus), both of this parish." The register of Ticehurst, 1578, records the baptism of Gervase Cowper, Puber, ætatis 81.

During the time of the Commonwealth marriages were performed in a very easy manner. From the following extracts taken from the register of Wartling, it would appear that some regiment was quartered there in 1656, and that the officers officiated as the priests of Hymen.

"April 24th, Roger Harrison and Elizabeth Pettit married. They were married by Capitaine Jenner.

"June 19th, William Faulkner and Mary Elizabeth Ainscombe were married by Colonel John Rusbridge and by Mr. Paul Durande, at Mayfield."

"July 1st, David Hart and Ceselie Hammond were married by Capitaine Stapley."

³⁶ Burn's *Registrum Ecclesiæ Parochialis*.

“This protestation was read by me, William Cooper, in the audience of all those whose names are underwritten, in the chancel of the parish church of Ringmer, who did willingly and cheerfully protest it, every man, after the protestation particularly made by him, setting his hand or his mark thereto as followeth, on Sunday, July 4th, 1641.

“In eternam rei memoriam, et papatûs infamiam.

“Signed by HERBERT SPRINGETT, and 155 more.”

“May the memory of such rebellious rogues perish, and their names be forgotten! So wishes Henry Snooke of Ringmer, 1737.”³⁷ An irritable, disagreeable man must Mr. Henry Snooke have been, to judge from the following entry—“Jan. 28th, 1759, Mr. Snooke was publicly reprovèd for his indecent behaviour and supercilious scoffs at the minister in sermon time, by J. Townsend, curate, late of Russell parish, Virginia.

The solemn league and covenant which was taken and subscribed, in 1644, by the Lords and Commons and the Assembly of Divines, and which was by special order read and explained by the ministers to their congregations, is still preserved in the register of Newhaven, and it is signed by more than fifty of the inhabitants. Among other strong measures there proposed, those who subscribed “did with

³⁷ The protestation, which, with a little alteration would do very well for the present emergency, and which has been torn out, probably by the hand of the indignant Mr. Snooke, is as follows:—“I, A B, in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the doctrines of the Church of England, against all Popery and popish innovations within this realm, contrary to the same doctrine, and according to the duty of my allegiance to his Majesty’s royal person, honour and estate, as also the power and privilege of Parliament, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject, and every person that maketh this protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same; and to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by all good ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall either by force, practice, councils, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise, do anything to the contrary of anything in this protestation contained; and further that I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to preserve the union between England, Scotland, and Ireland, and neither for hope, fear, nor other respect shall relinquish this promise, vow, and protestation.” This protestation was first taken only by the members of both houses of Parliament, but was soon afterwards printed and dispersed through the country; and Clarendon says that the use made of it by the schismatical preachers excited the rage and fury of the people, and greatly influenced the fate of the Earl of Strafford.”

their hands lifted up to the Most High God swear that they would, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy—that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissioners, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy.”

“A true account of the bownds of the parish of Ringmer, taken by Mr. John Lillie, vicar, with several of the parishioners, in rogation week, being the 14th, 15th, and 16th dayes of May, 1683. The procession was as follows—

“Monday y^e 14th of May, after divine service at our parish church, we went from thence along the king’s highway, to a place called Stone Street * * * and over the hedge at a crabb tree. * * * From thence we went to the house of Mr. Henry Plummer, where both men and boys were worthily entertayned at a plentiful good dinner, and thus ended our first day’s perambulation.” The second day they ended at the house of Lady Springett, “where there was a collation provided for the parishioners, and soe ended the second day’s perambulation.” The close of the third day brought them back to the crabb tree, at which place “wee sange a psalm, and our minister read the Epistle and Gospel, to request and supplicate the blessing of God upon the fruities of the earth. There did Mr. Richard Gunn, by reason of his building a new apartment to his house at Middleham, invite all the company to the clarke’s house, where he expended at his own charge a barrell of beer, besides a plentiful matter of provision brought from his own house; and soe ended our third and last day’s perambulation.”

The psalm ordered to be sung on this occasion in the 19th of the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, was the 103d, beginning with “Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name.” No order of prayer was appointed, but in the same Injunctions the curate was directed at certain convenient places to admonish the people to give thanks to God in the beholding of God’s benefits for the increase and abundance of his fruits upon the face of earth.

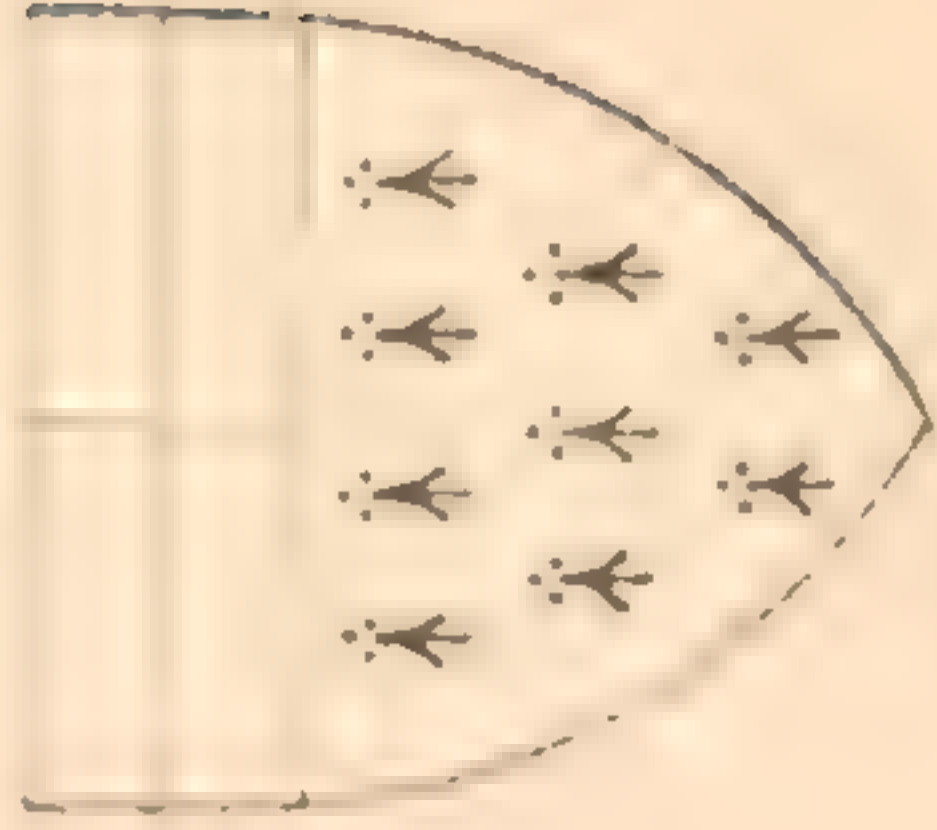
Nicholls, after giving a short summary of the topics dwelt upon in the Homily for the procession day, thus concludes—

“These are all excellent instructions, and though they have been long despised as the productions of a simpler age, yet they would serve very much to the improvement of this politer one, if they were more frequently, as they ought to be, made use of.”

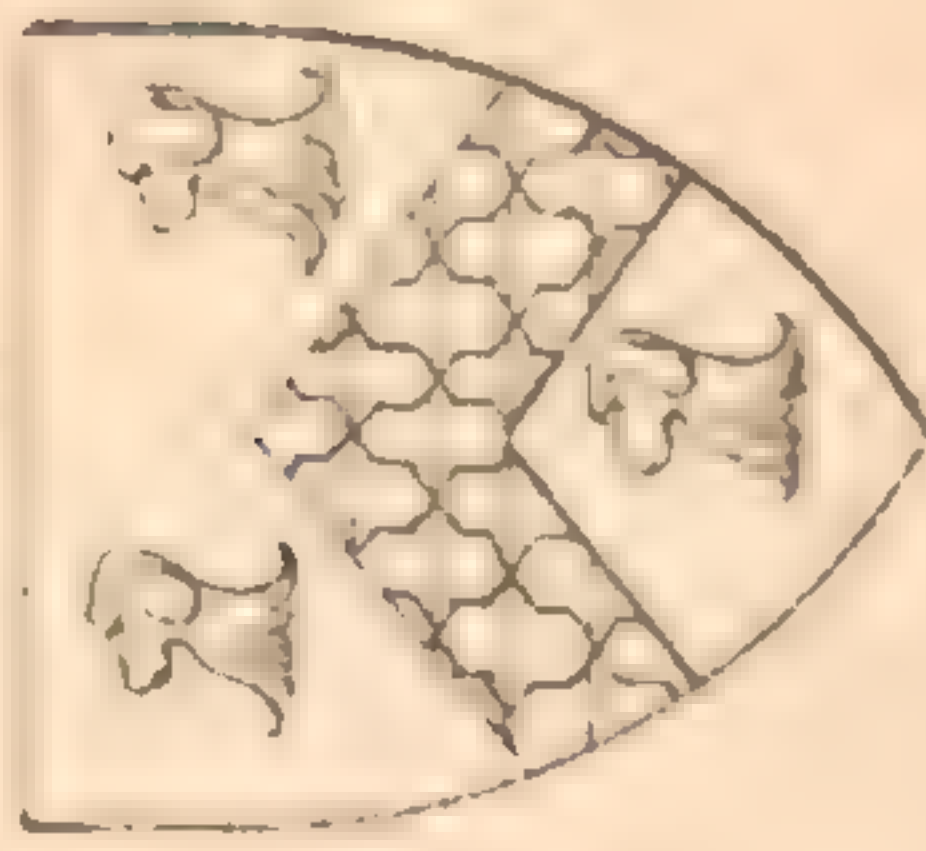
Among the taunting questions put to Bishop Jewell by his Roman Catholic opponent, John Rastell, there is this—“To come to the time of the apostles, did you ever hear and read that a procession about the fields was used in the rogation week, rather thereby to know the bounds and borders of every parish, than to move God to mercy, and stir men’s minds to devotion?”³⁸ From the imputation thus conveyed the minister and parishioners of Ringmer at least were free; and with this genuine and simple proof of the piety and hospitality of our forefathers it is best that this paper should conclude.

³⁸ Heylin’s History of the Reformation.

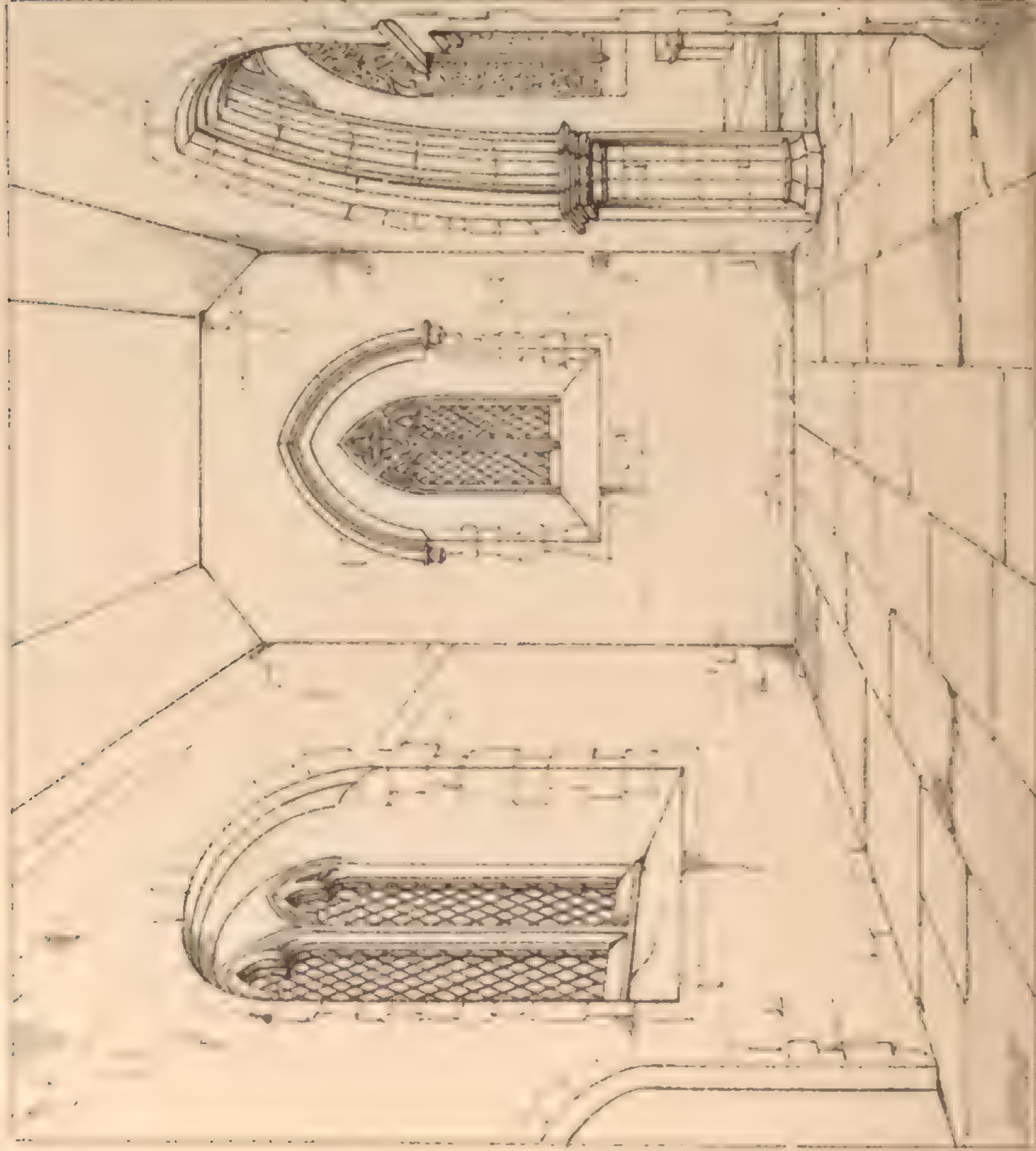
PECKHAM OF ARCHES.



ISTED.

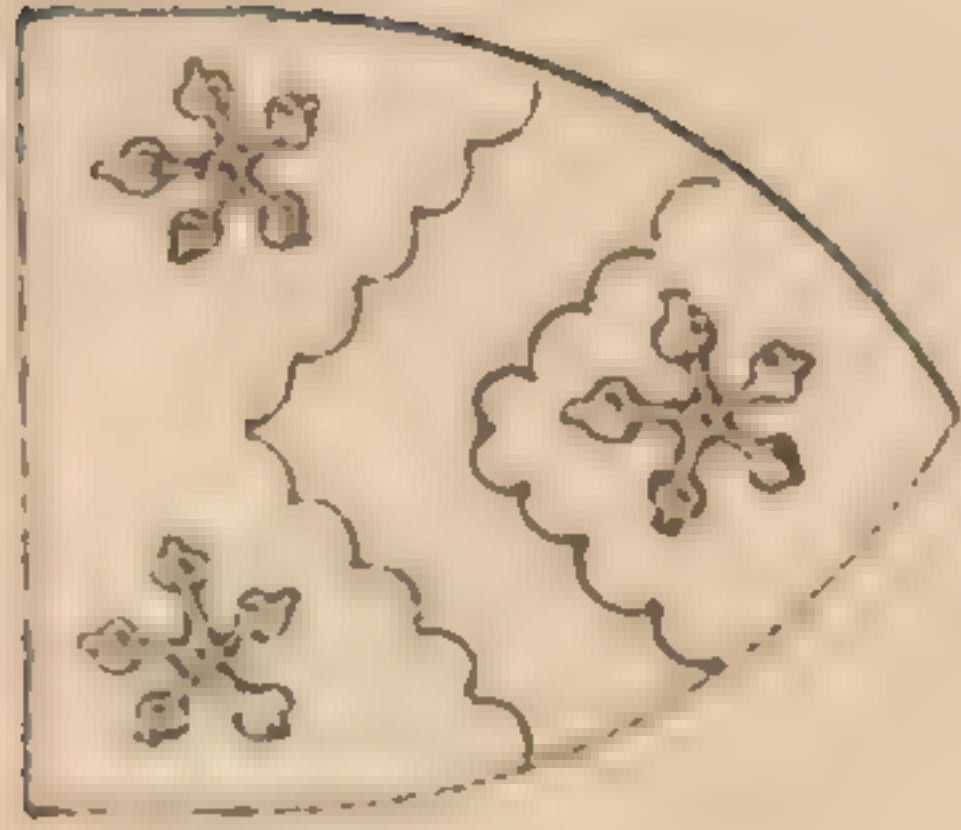


WARNETT OF HEMPSTEAD



FRAMFIELD CHURCH, NORTH CHANTRY.

STONE.



STAPLEY.



HODGSON.



NOTES ON THE
CHURCH OF ST. THOMAS À BECKET, FRAMFIELD,
AND ON THE ANCIENT PARISH GENTRY.

BY THE REV. HENRY ROSEHURST HOARE.

“Time cannot make such waste, but something will appeare,
To shew some little tract of delicacie there;
Or some religious worke in building manie a day,
That this penurious age hath suffred to decay,
Some limb or model drag’d out of the ruinous mass
The richness will declare, in glorie whilst it was.”

Drayton's Poly-Olbion.—1st Song.

PERHAPS the progress of ages and the changes “which time is charged to inflict,” are nowhere more intelligibly, and I may add painfully, exhibited, than in our ancient parish churches; though, from their sacred character and generally secluded situations, we might have augured for them a milder destiny. The ecclesiologist would have little difficulty in reading their history, even were there no records extant. He marks the progress and decline of art; the rude spoliations of fanaticism; the neglect and apathy of succeeding years; and the combined abominations produced by a vitiated taste and a covetous spirit. And yet, with all this, as it has been well remarked, there is hardly a single church of those erected previously to the times of the great Rebellion, which does not retain about it some features of interest or beauty. But it is no easy matter, in many instances, to retain these; anterior neglect now entails upon us the necessary evil of restoration, or rather renewal; for, though we may imitate, yet we cannot, strictly speaking, restore, ruined features. Even in the case of a church, which has been happily released from its accumulations of paint and whitewash, renewed as to its mutilated portions, and so far reinstated in its pristine beauty, we feel that much of the charm of antiquity is gone, for, where the

work is well executed, we can hardly discern the new from the old : we feel therefore distrustful of it all, and can scarcely persuade ourselves that the church was actually reared in the days of a Norman or a Plantagenet. However, there is no help for it now : all we can do is to record ancient features, both of those churches which remain in a state of neglect and decay, and of those which have been swept and garnished.

The foregoing remarks are painfully applicable to the ancient Church at Framfield, which has recently undergone considerable reparation. Still it is worthy of careful attention, and the work is in some respects better than that of many in the neighbourhood.

It is very probable that a church existed at Framfield at the time of or soon after the Norman Conquest, though no records of it have been discovered.

In the Domesday Survey, Framfield (*Framelle*) gives name to one of the hundreds in Pevensy Rape.¹

Domesday Book, 1068.	County Rate, 1624.	County Rate, 1833.
Framelle.	Loxfield Dorset.	Loxfield Dorset.
Framelle, Gorde, Horstede.	Framfield, Lindfield.	Framfield, Buxted.
Bechingtone.	Uckfield, Buxted.	Uckfield, Isfield.

Being at that time probably a parish of some consideration, it would doubtless have a church.

Like the names of most other parishes, the ancient spelling of Framfield is various ; but as it was formerly often written (and still is pronounced by the common people) *Frantfield*, the Rev. E. Turner's conjecture seems probable, that *Frant* is a corruption of *Fernet*, and that the parish was anciently called Fernetfield, signifying an extent of land covered with fern. The village of Frant, near Tonbridge Wells, was anciently written *Fernet*, probably from the same reason.

The parish doubtless consisted principally of forest, like the rest of the Weald. An extensive common, called Barnet

¹ A farm-house in the parish still bears the name of the Hundred-House, and may be on the site of that where the Hundred Courts anciently were held. (Horsfield's *Sussex*, vol. i, p. 270.)

Wood, contained timber within the memory of some of the inhabitants.

Hayley says that a payment was ordered, by Archbp. *Stephen*, of four marks, out of the Church of Framfield (Fremesfeld), which was a peculiar of Canterbury, to the Sacrist of South Malling College. There can be little doubt that the prelate here named was Archbishop Step. Langton, who was primate in the early part of the reign of Hen. III; a period rather earlier than can be assigned to the present church, so that an older one would then be standing. At what time Framfield was made a prebend of South Malling does not appear, but probably by Archbishop Langton, who ordered the payment above mentioned, and who, according to Tanner, made Mayfield a fifth prebend in the same church.

In a valuation of the deanery of South Malling, made in the reign of Richard II, Framfield prebend was valued at 10s.² In 1534, 26 Hen. VIII, at £17. 0s. 7d.³

The ordination of a vicar in the Church of Framfield was made, A.D. 1266, by Archbishop Boniface, whose primacy extended from 1244 to 1270.⁴ He is the reputed founder of the present Church, the date of which agrees with that of the above-mentioned ordination; and being dedicated in honour of St. Thomas à Becket, and the parish (till lately) a peculiar of Canterbury, there seems some probability in the tradition.⁵

Till the reign of Henry VIII the archbishops were civil as well as ecclesiastical lords of Framfield.⁶ The extensive manor of South Malling, which belonged to them, was divided into three beadlewicks, of which Framfield was one; and in 1542, 34^o Hen. VIII, the archbishop granted that part of the manor which was comprehended within the beadlewick of Framfield, and afterwards called the manor of Framfield, to Sir Thos. Palmer.

The advowson of this living, though formerly vested in the college of South Malling,⁷ seems to have been held with the manor since the suppression of that establishment. Sir Philip

² Horsfield's History of Lewes.

³ Tanner Notit. Monast.

⁴ Chartulary of the archbishopric of Canterbury, Bodleian MSS., Oxon. p. 124; Burrell MSS., fol. 5697.

⁵ I have been told that this is on record, but am unable to discover such authority.

⁶ The fair granted by one of the primates to Framfield is no longer held. A.D. 1314, 8 Edw. II. Cantuar. Archiepus. Fremesfeld *fer.* . . Tower Rec. Cart. No. 10. Bur. MSS.

⁷ Ecton's Thesaurus.

Sidney was lord of the manor, and most probably also patron of the living (he was lord and patron of Buxted). At his death, in 1585, the lordship passed to his daughter and heir Elizabeth, wife of Roger, earl of Rutland;⁸ and afterwards, together with the patronage, to the Sackvilles, earls of Dorset, and Tuftons, earls of Thanet.

A.D. 1292, 21 Edward I. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas, the Church of Framfield paid 15 marks.⁹

Godardus was an early incumbent of Framfield, probably in the reign of Hen. III.

Gilbert de Clive, vicar, about 1266.

John Leff, rector, (qu. vicar?) 1545, 37 Hen. VIII.

The present Church dates about the year 1260, being perhaps built when the ordination of the vicarage was made. The plan is somewhat cruciform, including nave, chancel, north and south chantries, north and south aisles, north porch, and formerly a tower, which unfortunately fell, and has never been rebuilt. The style is that of the later period of Early English, but it is difficult to trace it externally, as so many of the ancient features have been destroyed. Both the aisles were for the most part rebuilt during the Tudor period; the original work, consisting of smaller stones, may be traced in the lower part of the walls; the original windows, both in the aisles and clerestory, are gone; those by which they are succeeded being square-headed, of two lights, of the Tudor date, injure the general effect of the Church by their modern shape and size.

One of them lights a bay on the south side, which was formerly occupied by a doorway opposite to that on the north. The aisles are very narrow, as are those of most of the early churches in this county; but the proportions of the Church are very good. The nave is divided into four bays; the arches are of a good shape, though rather wide in proportion to the height of the piers; they are plain chamfers, of two orders; the piers are octagonal; the abacus of the capital is formed of the scroll-moulding. The nave-roof is strengthened with tie-beams, and is coved, and panelled with oak-boards, fretted with ribs, which are adorned at their intersections with

⁸ Value £4, Bodleian MSS.

⁹ Burrell MSS. In the king's books, Framfield is valued at £13. 6s. 8d.; Tenths, £1. 6s. 8d.

bosses, of the square Tudor flower, carved and coloured. This roof has lately been entirely renewed; the rain had so long been suffered to penetrate it, that much of the panelling decayed. Many of the bosses were broken in the removal; some have however been preserved; they are beautifully carved, and as sound as ever.¹⁰

The chancel-arch is lofty, and of fine proportions. On the north side is the doorway with three steps, which led to the rood-loft. When Sir Wm. Burrell visited the Church there was a richly carved rood-screen, which, it is to be regretted, has long since entirely disappeared; he describes it as "an ancient screen of carpentry, panelled to the height of four feet, over which it is framed in open work, richly carved, and rising in the whole about twelve feet from the ground."

Like the rood-screen, the ancient chancel is numbered among the things which were; it long withstood the ill-usage of churchwardens, who partially ceiled it inside, and despoiled the east window of its tracery; but at length the walls cracked, and the chancel became so much dilapidated, that it was found necessary to take it down and rebuild it, in 1848. The dimensions and proportions of the old building were followed; it was formerly lighted by trefoiled lancets, till the chantries were built, which open into the chancel, each by an arch of the same proportions as those of the nave. A single lancet remains on each side, east of the arches.

The east window was of the Early Decorated date, probably rather later than the chancel. The new window, built with Caen stone, is filled with geometrical tracery, resembling a compartment of the west window of Tintern Abbey. A small trefoil-headed aumbrye existed in the north wall, and a piscina, of similar shape, on the south. A hagioscope on each side opened a view of the altar to the chantries. The new roof, like the former one, is of three bays.

The dates of the foundation of the chantries are unknown; that on the north side belongs to the Hempstead estate, and

¹⁰ We would entreat those clergymen who are at any time engaged in church repairs, personally to superintend the taking down of any old carved work, of wood or stone, which is at all capable of being re-erected; the workmen will generally, either wilfully or carelessly, destroy it, and much fine sculpture is thus often sacrificed. Even if a clerk of the works is employed, he is not always to be trusted; he cannot be supposed to have the same interest in the church as the clergyman, and will often make more work for his employer than is necessary.

was, probably, built by a family named de Hempstead, in the time of Edward I. They lived and seem to have become extinct in the parish before the days of registers, as no notice of them is there to be found. The only known records of the family relate to Robert de Hempstead, in Framfield, temp. Edward I, to whom Archbishop Peckham granted a charter of manumission, elevating him from the condition of a villain to that of a freeman. It is dated at Tenham, Kent, March 22, 1284, and signed by Thomas de Marines, Sir Roger de Lewknor, Sir Roger la Warre, and Sir William Mauke;¹¹ and one of the collectors of the ninths (of fleeces, lambs, and sheaves) in 14th Edward III, 1340, was Robert de Hempstead, probably a son of the forementioned Robert.

The style of the chantry is that of the date 1280, so that it probably was founded as a mortuary chapel, and attached to the estate by Robert de Hempstead, soon after his fortunate elevation. On the north side is a couplet of lancets, trefoiled, and a doorway; in the east wall is a window of two lights, with a pointed quatrefoil in the head. The original form of the window-head is given in the lithograph, but unfortunately it was not followed by the masons in the rebuilding. The only relic of stained glass in the church is in this window; it is a small circular piece in the head, containing a figure in a long robe, crowned, and holding a sceptre in his right hand; on each side is a clump of trees, and, in the distance, the outline of a church tower and spire. The lines are in black and brown, and the crown, sceptre, and trees, in yellow: there is no other colour. This piece is very probably of the same date as the chantry.

The south, or Bentley Chapel, is of considerably later date than that on the north side. It was attached to the estate of Bentley, in this parish, the residence of the Gages, and dates about the reign of Henry VII. The two windows, south and east, are similar, of three lights, under a depressed arch; there is a south entrance. The only monument is a mural brass, in an alabaster frame, to the memory of Edward Gage, esquire, who married Margaret, daughter of John Shelley, of Michelgrove, esquire, and died A.D. 1595. He and his lady are represented kneeling at the altar; behind him are three sons;

¹¹ A copy of this curious document may be seen in Horsfield's History of Lewes and its Environs.

behind her, five daughters; above are their names, and below an inscription taken from the office for the dead—"Domine, secundum actum meum noli me judicari," &c. Some sepulchral family slabs, being much broken, and the inscriptions obliterated, were sunk in the ground, and the new pavement was laid upon them.

Tradition reports that the tower fell on a Sunday evening, soon after service, in the year 1667. In the following year the west wall was rebuilt, and the foundations of a new tower carried as high as the plinth; after this the work was stopped, under pretence that the inhabitants were unable to bear the expense; but the truth was ¹² (according to Sir W. Burrell) the Durrants, Stones, and Peckhams, who were the principal inhabitants, were Dissenters, and refused to continue the work. Some time afterwards an unsightly wooden turret, resembling a pigeon-cote was erected; but as this has lately been removed, we would fain hope that a new tower will ere long be seen raising its massive and comely form.

The following initials and date are carved on a stone at the north-west angle of the nave. The initials are probably those of the churchwardens (perhaps Durrant and Stone), and the date would mark the time of the repairs after the accident. There was a peal of six bells, which, by the fall of the tower, were broken or cracked. Sir William Burrell said that the parishioners proposed to apply for a faculty to sell four of the bells, and to expend the money in repairing and beautifying the church; and it is probable that the bells thus found their way to neighbouring steeples; some being hung, as is said, in the tower of East Grinstead Church; and the tenor of the peal at Rotherfield, the largest bell in the county, is reported to have belonged to Framfield.

W D I S
C F
1668.

Few parishes seem to have had so many families of respectability amongst the ancient gentry, and living at the same period, as Framfield. As they have nearly all passed away, a few notices of them may not be uninteresting, whilst we are speaking of the Church, within and around which their ashes are garnered up; though no costly monument remains, to distinguish their graves from those in which "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

¹² Burrell MSS.

GAGE, OF BENTLEY.—This family was a junior branch of the Gages of Firle; they appear to have possessed and resided on their estate from an early period. Edward Gage, Esq., whose monument has been noticed, is mentioned as amongst the recusants reported by the sheriffs of the county to Queen Elizabeth (see *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II, p. 62). During the residence of the Gages, Bentley possessed a large mansion, and a very extensive park; the woody domain, called Plashet Park, is said to have belonged to it. Both estates are the property of Viscount Gage. A farm-house is all that remains of the Bentley mansion. The eventual heir of this branch of the family was Lucy, daughter of John Gage, Esq. of Bentley; she married William Herrick, Esq., grandfather of the present William Herrick, Esq., of Beaumanor Park, co. Leicester.

Arms: per saltire, arg. & az., a saltire gu.: quartering St. Clere; az. the sun in splendour, or.¹³

WARNETT, OF HEMPSTEAD.—This family were the successors, and probably heirs, to that named De Hempstead, the most ancient possessors already noticed. The Warnetts appear to have possessed the Hempstead estate from the reign of Henry VI, and perhaps earlier. The name occurs frequently in the register books. The Burrell MSS. mention a monument once existing in Buxted Church (the Hempstead estate extends into Buxted) to the memory of John Warnett, a member of Furnival's Inn, who died in 1486. The only monument in the Hempstead chantry is to the memory of Francis Warnett, Esq., who died in the lifetime of his father, 1622. He married Ann, daughter of Sir Edward Boys, of Fredfield, co. Kent. John Warnett married the sister of Thomas Langstone, bishop of Winchester, temp. Henry VII. He made his will July 28, 1525, 17th Henry VIII, sealed with his coat of arms. About the year 1693 the Warnetts appear to have become extinct in the male line, by the death, without issue, of John, Edward, and Thomas, sons of Edward Warnett, the last possessor, in the lifetime of their father.

Arms: arg. a stag salient, sa.; over all fretty, vert. (See

¹³ On a hatchment, formerly in the Gage chantry, was the coat of Gage and St. Clere, impaling, gu. a fess chequy, arg. & sa. between six cross crosslets, arg.; the arms of Boteler, of Bramfield, co. Hertford, sprung from the Barons Boteler, of Wemme and Oversley. (Burke). But Mr. Lower informs me that he can find no match of a Bentley Gage with any member of this family.

lithograph). The Hempstead estate is now the property of the earl of Liverpool.

PECKHAM, OF ARCHES.—The first of this family of whom we have any record, is John, archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated in the year 1272. He was a native of Sussex, of a family in humble life. Lewes claims the distinction of being the place of his nativity, but without any apparent grounds, though its priory is called “the convent of his love.” (See *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II, p. 33.) His connection with Framfield suggests the probability that he was born in the parish. He built a palace at Tarbledown, in Framfield, of which there were some remains, according to Lee, in the latter part of the last century. Some members of the family continued to reside in the parish, and they are first mentioned as of Arches, in 1616. This manor had previously been in the possession of a family named Thatcher, a junior branch of the Thatchers of Broyle Place, in Ringmer, and afterwards of Priesthaws in Westham. The last of this branch was James Thatcher, who sold the manor and estate to John Peckham, in whose descendants it remained, till, in default of heirs male of William Peckham, this lordship passed, in 1770, into the hands of his two daughters, the eldest of whom, Sarah, married, in 1776, the Rev. William Woodward, of Plumpton, and the younger, Mary, married the Rev. Henry Courthope, of Brenchley.¹⁴

The lordship of Arches is held of the paramount manor of Framfield; it is described as the manor of Arches and Gote; and like all other subordinate manors, is obliged to acknowledge its fealty to the superior lordship. Arms: ermine, a chief quarterly, or and gules. (See lithograph.)

STAPLEY.—Mr. Turner (see *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. II, p. 102) considers this family to have derived their name from the hundred of Staple near Battle: Edmund Knight, Norroy, derives them from the Stapleys of Cheshire; they were a family of considerable note in Framfield, especially at the time of the Rebellion: Anthony Stapley, the regicide, was son of Anthony Stapley, by Anne Morley, the second of his four wives: he took a prominent part amongst the parlia-

¹⁴ This estate has passed by purchase into the possession of Alexander Donovan, Esq. The Peckhams were a branch of the great Kentish family, which is now represented in one of its lines by Sir S. B. Peckham Micklethwaite, Bart., one of the Vice-Presidents of our Society.

mentarians, and was ultimately amongst those who signed King Charles's death-warrant: his name still appears legibly in the copies of that iniquitous instrument. He was born at Framfield in the year 1590, and is thus registered: "Aug. 30th, Anthonie Stapley, Gentleman." In 1624, he was member for the borough of New Shoreham; this was the last session of James I and the first of Charles I. In 1628 he was member for Lewes with Sir George Goring, having unseated Sir George Rivers by petition. In 1653, the year of the first parliament summoned under the Protectorate, Anthony Stapley was one of the burgesses of the shire. This parliament met July 8th, and sat till December 12th. Besides Stapley, the members for the shire were William Spencer and Nathaniel Stukley. Anthony Stapley married Ann, sister of George Lord Goring, afterwards earl of Norwich. The perfidious conduct of Anthony and his son will be seen in the letters given by Horsfield in his History of Lewes. Lord Clarendon, speaking of this family, says that "they were of good extraction and good fortune in the county of Sussex, one of whom" (meaning Anthony) "was in the number of the blackest offenders, and one of the king's judges."

John Stapley, the son and heir of Anthony, found it convenient to espouse the cause of the Royalists, and in consequence of his active part in the Restoration, he was created a knight by Charles II, and subsequently a baronet. He was of Patcham, and as his baptism is entered in the registers of that parish, Mr. Turner conjectures that the Stapleys removed from Framfield to Patcham between the year 1615 and 1620. Herbert Stapley, son of Sir John, predeceased his father, without issue; consequently the baronetcy became extinct on the death of Sir John Stapley in 1701, aged seventy-three. A decayed member of this family still lives in Framfield, in the person of old Robert Stapley, who, though living on his own land, obtains, with difficulty, the means of subsistence for his household. He has told me of the general belief of his family that an evil influence seems to hang over them in retribution for their guilty participation in the Rebellion; and it would seem to be a part of that retribution, that no monuments remain to the Stapleys in the church, nor is their residence in the parish accurately known. I have been informed

that an ancient mansion called Tickridge was their residence, but other documents assign it to the Hays. W. Stone, Esq., has also told me that New Place was purchased by his family of the Stapleys, but still there is no authentic record of their old home in Framfield.

Arms: gu. within a bordure engrailed, three boars' heads erased, arg. (See lithograph.) Another coat borne by this family was, arg. on a fesse engrailed ermine between three hurts, two dragons' heads erased, or. This was probably the coat of the Framfield branch.

STONE, OF NEW PLACE.—This is one of the oldest names in the Registers, and the only family who has a representative in the parish in the present day. A marriage of — Stone with Anne Warnett, of Hempstead, is recorded under the date of 1535. No circumstances of particular interest are to be noted of this family: their mansion of New Place, probably on the site of one more ancient, is of the late Tudor date, but now reduced in size, and occupied by farm servants; it has very massive chimneys; and the mullions of the kitchen window are of great substance, in oak. The farms of New Place, Stone Bridge, and Gate House, which last was till lately the property of Robert Stone, Esq., are now all in the possession of William T. Stone, Esq., the last of his race, and unmarried.

Arms: sa. a chevron engrailed, between three cinquefoils arg.; crest, a demi-cockatrice, rising arg. winged and crested, or. Granted in 1628, and certified by Sir William Segar, Garter, in the Visitation, 1633.¹⁵ (See lithograph.)

ISTED.—This family came from Eysted, a large maritime town of Denmark, and settled at Framfield, about the time of Edward III; they enjoyed a considerable estate, part of which continued in the family till 1718, when it was sold by Thos. Isted, Esq., of Ecton, co. Northampton. The present representative of this family is Ambrose Isted, Esq., of Ecton.¹⁶

Arms: gu. a chevron vair, between three talbots' heads, erased, or; crest, a buck's head, erased, proper, attired and ducally gorged, or. (See lithograph.)

¹⁵ Herald's Office.

¹⁶ Berry does not mention this family: they are noticed in Burke's History of the Commoners.

HODGSON, OF POUNDSLEY AND TICKRIDGE.—The first of the family mentioned is Robert Hodgson, descended from a family in the north; he lived at Framfield in the reign of Hen. VIII. The Hodgsons were gun-founders, and possessors of the Poundsley foundry and estate, as we learn from the pedigree of the Morleys, of Glynde, in which Robert Morley is said to have married Susannah, daughter and heiress of Thomas Hodgson, of Poundsley, gentleman. Little is known of the mansion of the Hodgsons, called Tickridge; it appears to have given name to a more ancient family, recorded in the registers, *e. g.* the burial is recorded, in 1602, of “Mother Tickridge.” When, in 1639, Goldsmith Hodgson died, seized of Tickridge, it is described as a messuage and lands, containing sixty acres, holden of William Peckham, as of the manor of Arches, by fealty. The house has been called “an ancient and once stately mansion,” though little of it remains; possibly before the Hodgsons it may have been the residence of the Stapleys.

Arms of Hodgson: ermine, on a chief gules, three cutlasses, erect arg. hilts or (see lithograph); crest, a griffin's head erased or, in the beak a dexter hand, erased at the wrist gu. Granted by W. Segar, Garter, 1628.

From the family of Hodgson the Tickridge estate appears to have passed into that of Haies, or Hay, who were resident in the parish in the reign of James I. They continued in possession of the property till the year 1680, when they removed to Little Horsted Place, which had been the seat of the elder branch of the family; William Hay being described in Sir William Burrell's pedigree of the family as being born at Horstead, in 1594. They were a branch of Hay, of Glynde Bourne, who bore, ar. on a fesse gu. between six martlets sa. two martlets or.

It seems probable that Tickridge passed directly from the Hays to the Faggs, of Shepherd's Hill, in Buxted, as they possessed the property soon afterwards; and as the Faggs did not require Tickridge as a place of residence, it might be from that time suffered to fall into decay. With the rest of the Fagg estates, Tickridge passed, by marriage, to the Gorings, of Wiston, the present possessors. Fagg, of Wiston, bore, gu. two bends vair.

SMITH, OF HIGHLANDS AND LITTLE STREELE, appears to

have been a very ancient family, but not enjoying any considerable estate in Framfield. In the time of Sir William Burrell, Mr. J. Smith, of Little Streele, had in his possession admittances of his ancestors to the copyholds enjoyed by him, from 2 Hen. VII, 1486.¹⁷ The estates passed, by purchase, to the family of

DURRANT, OF GREAT STREELE.—This was also an ancient family, according to Sir William Burrell, but little is left recorded of them. The last of the family, Robert Durrant, Esq., died towards the end of the last century; the Woodwardes were his nephews and heirs.

FRENCH, OF ESTONES.—On an inquisition, post mortem, taken 7th June, 7 Car. I, 1630, the jury found that John French, gentleman, son of Thomas French, died 13th Jan. 1630, seised of a messuage and lands in Framfield, called Estones, alias Threeces farm, holden of the earl of Dorset, of his manor of Framfield, in free socage, by fealty.¹⁸ A locality is still known by the name of “Estones,” or “Eason’s Green.” The Frenches were ironmasters, as it appears by the mention of “John Frenche’s hammer,” in R. Leche’s answers to articles of inquiry, temp. Elizabeth.¹⁹ The foundry was probably in the vicinity of Barnet Wood.

The pedigrees of Warnett, Stone, and Hodgson, are in Berry’s *Sussex Genealogies*. The modern monuments in the Church are principally to the Woodward family, of Highlands and Streele. There is a monument to the Rev. Thomas Wharton, formerly vicar, who died 21st May, 1767. He was descended from the ancient Barons Wharton, of Wharton Castle, co. Westmorland, and the Whartons of Kirkby Thore, Ridge Grange, and other manors, in that county. They were allied to the ancient families of Conyers and Myddelton. A relation of Mr. Wharton, Isabella Paris (whose maiden name was Wharton), died, in humble life, 9th April, 1849, in her 94th year. The Whartons bore, sa. a maunch, ar. within a bordure or, charged with eight pairs of lions’ paws saltire ways, erased gu.; the bordure being an augmentation granted by Edw. VI.

In a list of the monks of Lewes Priory, in 1526 (given in *Suss. Arch. Collections*, vol. III, p. 204), occurs the name of David Fremfyld, doubtless a native of this parish.

¹⁷ Burrell MSS.¹⁸ Burrell MSS.¹⁹ Horsfield’s *Sussex*.

The northern names of Calverley and Osbaldeston occur in the Registers.

The well-known antiquary, Sir Joseph Ayloff, resided in Framfield, at a house called Wharton's, built by the Rev. T. Wharton: Sir Joseph's family arms and alliances are depicted in stained glass in the hall window.

TENANTRY CUSTOMS IN SUSSEX— THE DRINKER ACRES.

BY MR. WILLIAM FIGG.

(READ AT ALFRISTON, OCTOBER 16, 1850.)

IN connection with the subject of "MANORIAL CUSTOMS," in the Third Volume of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, p. 249, it may be interesting to know, that there have existed other customs of a local character, which may be deemed somewhat curious, and among them that of the tenants of several parishes meeting on certain days of the year, in order to tread or set out the Brooks or Marshland, used in tenantry, for the purpose of their being afterwards mown, and at the same time of "making a drinking by spending the rent arising from particular pieces of land locally called 'Drinkers,' or 'Drinker Acres.'"

Many of the parishes on the South Downs, in the neighbourhood of Lewes particularly, have a considerable quantity of brooks (locally so called) or marshes, within their limits, and generally, where the Down land was fed in common, and the arable was in tenantry, some portions of the brooks were in tenantry also. In the parishes of Kingston near Lewes, and Southease, it was so until they were inclosed, the former in 1830, the latter in 1842. In both these parishes were particular brooks called Wishes, and in each also there was a small piece of brookland called *the Drinker*; it has been for years past a matter of curiosity to know the origin of the name, and the purpose for which these drinkers were originally set out. By the following remarks I hope to be enabled to throw some light on the matter.

In Kingston the custom connected with the Drinker appears to have been discontinued for many years, but at Southease it was kept up until the inclosure took place.

The arable in these parishes was divided into yardlands, and according to the number of yardlands held by each proprietor, the rights of depasturing the Down, and mowing and feeding the tenantry brook, were regulated.

Having lately, through the kindness of a member of our Society, had an opportunity of copying, from a manuscript of the time of Elizabeth, the following "true and certain note" of the custom in Kingston, at that period, I have thought it right to embody it in this paper, with an account of the custom as continued in Southease up to the year 1842.

It appears that up to a certain day in the spring, the brooks called Wishes were fed in common, by the stock belonging to the tenants, in proportion to their rights; they were then laid off for mowing, and were, on a subsequent day, trodden out, that is, divided into pieces, to be mown for hay, each tenant taking such quantity as he might be entitled to, according to the number of yardlands he held. The Drinker in Kingston appears to have been used by the tenants of certain yardland, in a regular rotation of ten years, as described in

"A true & certeine note how y^e Drinker dooth faule to everymans lande or yard wishe in the parishe of Kingston, nigh Lewis, at y^e time of trading of y^e wishe. At which time, whosoever receiveth y^e same to his parte, doothe pay xvij^d to y^e residue y^e trade out y^e Wyshe to make them a drinking.

1. Firste. Mr. Mychells lande had y^e same wholly for iiij yard wisshes. Anno Regni Dne Eliz. Regine XVIth
2. It. xvijth Elizabethhe.—Mychells lande received the Drinker for ij yards & a halfe wishe, Richard Howells for a yard wishe, and Mr. Ersfilds for half a yard wishe.
3. It. xvijth Elizabethhe.—Newtons land for ij yard wishe, & y^e meane landes for one yard wishe, & Jone, a Boverrs, for one yarde lande.
4. It. xixth Elizabethhe.—Mr. Ersfyld receiveth y^e same for ij yarde wisshes, & Averdslande & Hardmans land for ij yard wisshes.
5. It. xx^o Eliz.—Ersfylds lande wholly for iiij yard wysshes of Peks.
6. It. xxi^o Elizabethhe.—Cranes land receiveth y^e same for iiij yard wishes, & Robte Howell for one yarde wishe.
7. It. xxij^{do} Elizabethhe.—Ihon Barndens lande rec y^e same for iiij yard wisshes, & Thomas Howell for one yarde wishe.
8. It. xxij^o Eliz.—Gregory Ade for iiij yard wishes, & Ihon Adams for one yarde wishe.
9. It. xxiiij^{to} Elizabethhe.—Shusmiths lande for ij yard wisshes, & Peter Towners for ij yard wisshes.
10. It. xxv^{to} Eliz.—Ersfylds for iiij yard lande of Awfords.

So y^e every iiij yard wisshes receive y^e Drinker yearly, according to y^e order above written."

The above "note" I think fully explains this custom in Kingston, and it would thus appear that the person or persons, to whose lot the Drinker fell by succession, had the right to mow and depasture the same during the whole year, or until the next "trading of y^e wish" took place, he or they paying eighteen pence "to make them a drinking," that is, the other or "resydue" of the tenants who were present at the treading out of the Wish.

In the parish of Southease, the custom appears to have been somewhat different. The rights with which the Drinker was connected were confined to a portion of the "North Wish," which was divided into fourteen parts called hides, and thirteen called clouts; this land was cleared of stock, or as it is usually called laid off for mowing, on the 6th of April (old Lady Day) in every year. On the 10th of July, those tenants, who possessed rights, met on the ground, and drew lots for the hides, commencing at the south end. The mode of drawing lots was as follows—Fourteen pieces of stick five or six inches in length were severally notched or marked with a knife with certain characters, named as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. One Score. | 8. The "Doter." |
| 2. Two Score. | 9. Dung hook. |
| 3. Three Score. | 10. Cross. |
| 4. Four Score. | 11. C. |
| 5. Five Score. | 12. C. |
| 6. Six Score. | 13. D. |
| 7. Seven Score. | 14. The Drinker. |

These hides were not each mown wholly by one tenant, but in various proportions; for instance, No. 8 was in six parts, No. 9 in six also, No. 10 in three, 11 went to a tenant in Heighton,¹ 12 to two tenants in Heighton, 13 the same, while the whole of the seven scores were held by the tenants of the adjoining parish of Telscombe² in various proportions.

The tenants having met, the following was the mode of proceeding: these marked pieces of stick were put into the

¹ See the "Customary Services by the Homagers of Hayton," vol. iii, p. 252, *Suss. Arch. Collections*.

² The parish of Telscombe is situate wholly on the Downs, having no marsh or meadow land, the tenants had therefore by some means obtained the right of a "cut and away" upon certain portions of the brooks in Southease, that is, to mow the grass and carry off the hay.

pocket of one of the party, and drawn at random by those who had rights.

As soon as the first stick was drawn it was stuck into the ground, on the south side of the first hide, and the turf was cut with a mark similar to that on the stick, in order that no mistake might be made as to whom the hide belonged at mowing time, and so on till all the sticks were drawn and the several pieces marked.

Another portion of the North Wish, eastward of and lying between the hides and the river Ouse, was divided into thirteen pieces called clouts, which were mown and divided in the same manner and proportions as the hides, beginning at the north end, each hide taking a clout, except the Doter, which had no clout.

If the hay was not cleared off by the 12th of August (old Lammas Day), the tenants of Southcase could carry away all that might be remaining.

The right of mowing and feeding half the Drinker Hide was, at the time of drawing lots, let yearly by auction to the highest bidder and the proceeds spent. The tenants dined together, spending one half the amount, and the other half was given to the labourers of Southcase "to make them a drinking," in order that they also might enjoy themselves.

The man who acted as auctioneer was called the crier, and received one shilling for his trouble, and was always afterwards employed in setting or treading out the hides and clouts at mowing time.

Some portions of the North Wish (lately called stumped pieces) were formerly called "Garlands."



ON THE STAR INN, AT ALFRISTON.

BY MR. MARK ANTONY LOWER.

(PARTLY READ AT THE ALFRISTON MEETING, OCT. 16, 1850.)

THE old Inn, which forms our place of rendezvous to-day, is well deserving of the attention of an Archæological Society. The ravages of time, and the innovations called improvements, effected within the last half-century, have left us very few of the domestic edifices of Old England. While almost every village of this district presents us with a time-honoured temple for religious worship, (dating in not a few instances from Norman and Early English times), a medieval dwelling-house is a rare object. The immediate locality is, however, rather richer than most others in examples of this kind. Not to mention the two monastic edifices of Michelham and Wilmington, both now occupied as dwelling-houses, we find, in the adjacent parish of West Dean, the singularly interesting little parsonage-house so ably described in Vol. III of the *Collections*, by the Reverend G. M. Cooper. In the same parish also is Charlston, a modern farm-house, but comprising some features of unquestionably Norman date. (Vide the present volume, page 46.) Here we have an inn, an "auncyent hostelrie" of considerable interest and curiosity—one which cannot fail to suggest reminiscences of medieval tavern scenes. Though not of sufficient antiquity to have afforded old Chaucer his "sop of wyn," or to have accommodated Syr John Maundevile after his long "voiage and travaile," or that other Sir John, whose memory is more strongly associated with such scenes, Falstaffe, to wit, yet there can be no question that a representative of the last-named knight, in the days of bluff King Hal, might have made himself perfectly at home here, and have deemed the Starre at Alfryston his lucky planet, if its kitchen was ruled, as doubtless it was, by some counterpart of his favourite Mrs. Quickly. Here, at certain seasons, no doubt, a jolly Benedictine or two from Battayle,

dispatched on some commission from their father abbot, touching his manor of Alciston, within the boundaries of which the house stands, found entertainment for their ambling palfreys and themselves; and here some reverend brother from Michelham, deputed to inspect the parish church of St. Andrew, then dependent upon his priory, would linger over a cup of good ale, on a fine autumnal day, like this, until he had well-nigh forgotten monastic rule. But,—

“ Old times are changed, old manners gone,”—

and the archæologist finds pleasure in making a railway pilgrimage to this interesting spot, which he can contemplate without any wish for the revival of the olden scenes and manners alluded to, but with many feelings of thankfulness that his lot has been cast in different and happier times.

From the religious symbols with which the house is decorated it has been conjectured that it was in some way connected with a monastic foundation. From the connection of Alfriston with Battel Abbey, it has been rather fancifully imagined that this building was invested with the well known privilege of sanctuary which that monastery possessed.¹ The antique, but now most wofully mutilated, Cross in the street, and the large size of the parish church, might seem rather to confirm the notion that Alfriston was a place of more than ordinary sanctity; but as to this Inn, I must express my conviction that it was *simply* an Inn, a house of entertainment for all comers, who could content themselves with the accommodation it afforded, and “ mine host ” by the payment of their reckoning.

A good idea of the edifice may be gained from the accompanying plate, and the decorations may be thus briefly described:—

Below the first, or left-hand window of the first floor, is a figure engaged with a dragon or wyvern. As he is devoid of wings, St. George, and not St. Michael, is probably intended, for the making of St. George a *cavalier* is an innovation of comparatively recent date, as is proved by innumerable examples. Beneath window No. 2 are two serpents with intertwined tails, supporting a kind of niche or tabernacle.

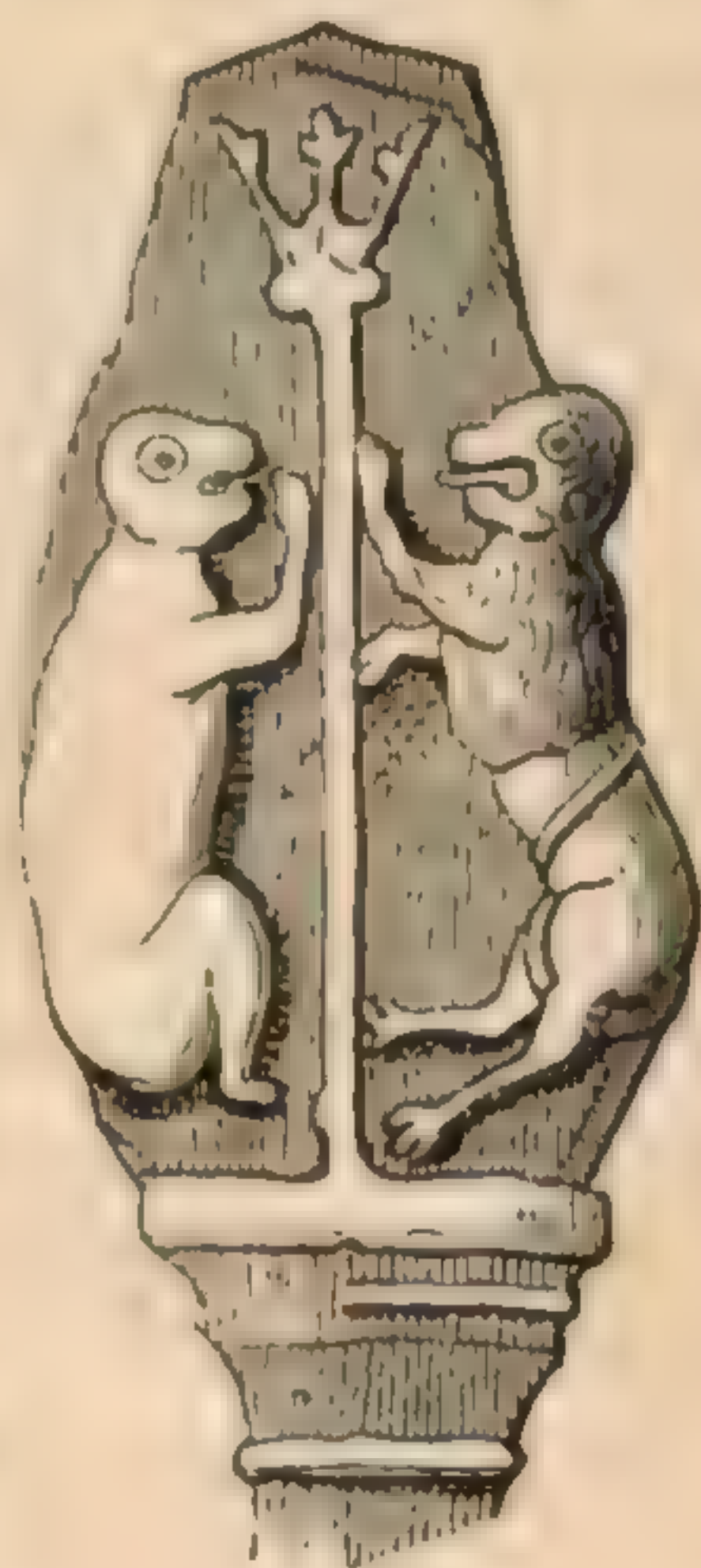
¹ See Chronicle of Battel Abbey, translated by M. A. Lower, p. 27.

This group appears to be merely ornamental. Under the third window is a blank shield; and to the right, near the sign-post, is a crouching greyhound. Contiguous to this there was formerly a Bacchanalian figure, with bottle and flask, but this has disappeared.

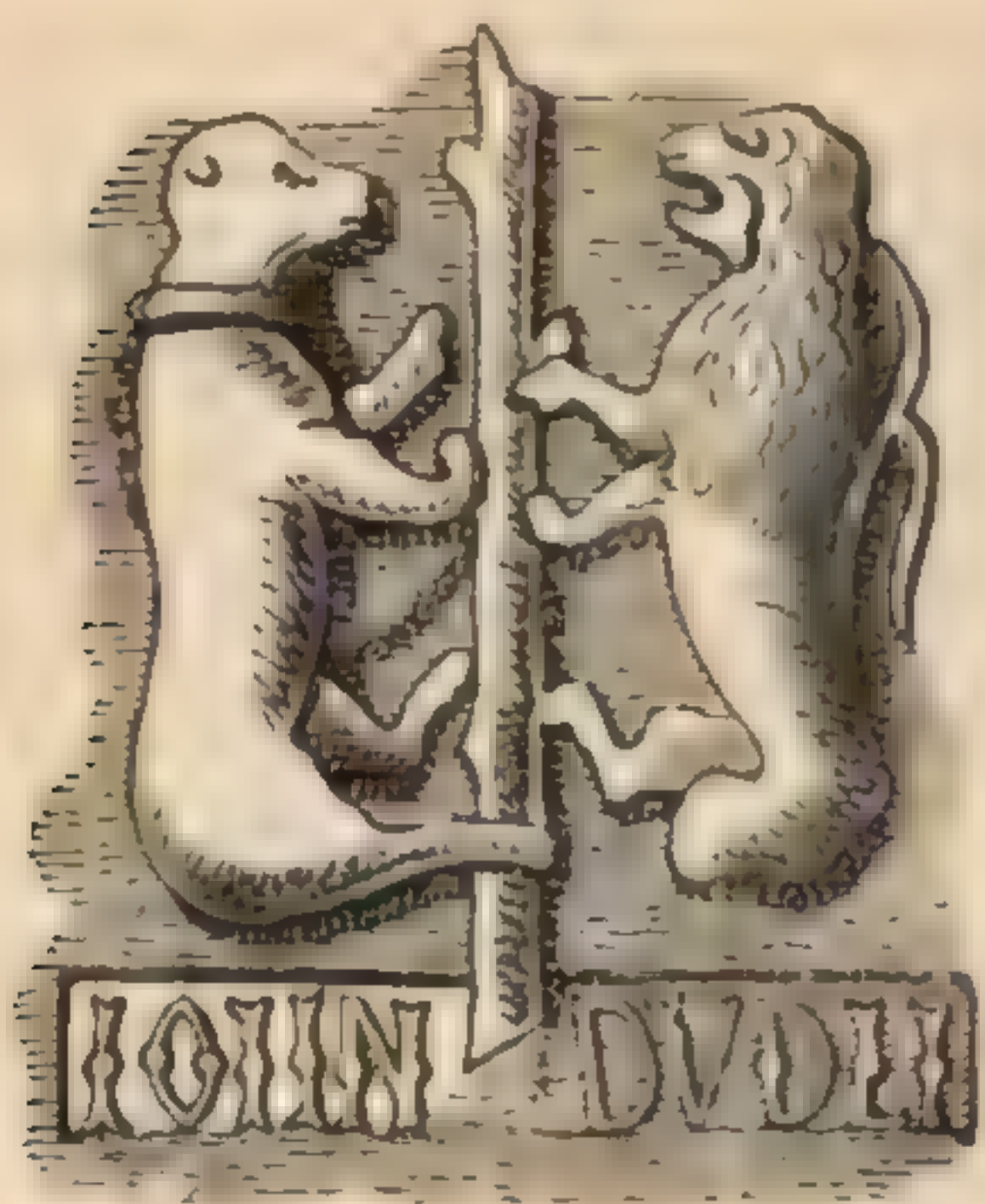
On a bracket, to the right of the kitchen window, is a figure in the costume of an ecclesiastical dignitary, mitred, and holding in his right hand a kind of orb, while his left is placed upon his breast. At his feet is a crouching animal, probably a hind, which would identify the figure as St. Giles, as a well known legend asserts that the saint's life was once saved by an animal of that species. On a similar bracket, to the right of the door, is another ecclesiastical figure, which, as it is devoid of any symbol, it is difficult to appropriate. At the head of a shaft, by the left-hand door-post, is a *fret* or heraldic knot. This device, though borne as a badge by several of our old baronial houses, does not appear to have been used by any Sussex family. The *Arms* of the Echynghams indeed were *azure, a fret argent*, and that family formerly had great possessions in the immediate neighbourhood of Alfriston, but as they had become extinct at the time of the erection of this house, the fret can hardly be attributed to them, and may perhaps be passed by as mere ornament.

The most interesting of all these wood carvings is the group forming the bracket at the angle of the building. It is composed of two heraldic animals supporting a staff, as in the accompanying wood-cut. The dexter figure is doubtless intended for a bear, and the sinister for a lion—the tail passed between the legs and thrown over the back. Between them is a staff or mace, surmounted with a coronet.

This device has always been a puzzle to local archæologists, and to none more than to myself. That the animals were intended for the supporters of some noble family there seemed to be no doubt—the difficulty lay in the appropriation. The origin of supporters is involved in considerable uncertainty. After the arbi-



trary figures introduced into circular seals, for the purpose of filling the blank spaces unoccupied by the shield, we find in sculpture a single animal grasping the staff of a banner, upon which the arms are depicted: a fine example of this kind of supporter occurs over the entrance of Herstmonceux Castle—the *alaunt* or wolf-dog of the Fyneses supporting their time-honoured banner of three lions rampant. To this single supporter succeed two animals upholding the shield—the existing distinction of peers of the realm, and of some few commoners to whom the right has been accorded. The representation however of two animals supporting a staff, instead of a shield, was, so far as my own observation extended, without a parallel, until recently, when, in turning over the thirteenth



volume of the 'Archæologia,' I found at p. 69 (in an Account of Inscriptions discovered on the Walls of an Apartment in the Tower of London, the ancient place of confinement for state prisoners) a singular carving, executed by John Dudley, son of John, Duke of Northumberland, during his incarceration, after the overthrow of his family for their daring attempt to place the Lady Jane Grey upon the throne. The resemblance between

this device and the Alfriston carving is at once apparent, and there seems to be a strong probability that the latter was executed in compliment to a member of that ambitious and unfortunate house.

The Tower sculpture (which has some accessories to which reference here is unnecessary) represents a bear, collared and chained to a ragged staff, which is supported on the other side by a lion with a bifurcated tail. The bear and staff formed, as is well known, the badge of the ancient earls of Warwick. Edmund Dudley, the rapacious minister of Henry VII, married Elizabeth Grey, a descendant of the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick, and his son John, previously to his elevation to the dukedom of Northumberland, was, in 1547, created earl of Warwick. Before the revival of that ancient title in his favour, he assumed the "bear and ragged

staff" of his maternal ancestors, and in the sculpture before us, executed by his son, the "lion rampant double queue" of the paternal arms of the Dudleys is added on the other side of the staff.

This device occurs likewise on a very singular hexagonal seal, an impression of which exists in the Hastings Museum.²

This seal, which appears to have been hastily executed during the few unhappy days of the reign of "Queen Jane," bears her name and title (*Joanna Reg(ina)*), and the initials of her amiable but unfortunate husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, with the date 1553. In the two conjoined shields are the royal arms, and the bear, staff, and lion of Dudley. In this case



the bear and lion have changed sides of the staff, but that this is a mere blunder of the artist is evident from the fact, that in the other shield a similar error is committed in the giving of the lions of England the priority to the fleurs-de-lis of France, for which there is no precedent.

In all the three examples the staves differ from each other. In the Tower one it is the true "ragged staff" of the old earls of Warwick; on the seal it is forked above and below; and in the Alfriston example it is plain, with a knob at top, surmounted by a coronet. There are also other discrepancies. At Alfriston the bear is not chained, and the posture of the lion's tail is different. The staff in the seal may be intended for the cognizance of Guildford. John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Guildford, and granddaughter of the Sir Richard Guldeforde, whose "Pilgrimage to the Holy Land" has recently been reprinted by the Camden Society.³ This family, who originated at East Guldeford, near Rye, bore as their cognizance "a trunk of a tree, couped and raguled or, the points enflamed proper." It is not a little singular that two families, allied by marriage, should have borne badges so very similar.

² I have not been able to discover where the original seal is preserved. A sulphur cast of it is in the Museum of the Sussex Archæological Society at Lewes Castle.

³ Edited by Sir Henry Ellis, from the unique copy printed by Pynson. The pilgrimage was made in 1506, the port of embarkation being Rye.

The staff at Alfriston, however, is clearly neither the ragged staff of Dudley nor the raguled tree of Guildford, but a plain official mace, surmounted with a coronet.

Assuming this carving to have been executed by a mechanic ignorant of heraldic proprieties, we may, I think, with some degree of certainty assign this singular group to the Dudley family. The chief difficulty, however, in the way of such an assignation is, that they are not known to have been connected with this district. The story that Edmund Dudley, the duke's father, was the son of a travelling carpenter, whom the monks of Lewes Priory patronised and educated, seems to have been a mere rumour, first committed to history by Erdeswick, the Staffordshire topographer; but even if this were true it would not account for his device being placed at Alfriston. What is more pertinent is, that Edmund held the stewardship of the Rape of Hastings, in which he was possibly succeeded by his son, the eventual duke, after the reversal of his attainder by Henry VIII. This event took place in the third year of that monarch, but since Elizabeth, the ultimate heiress of the Beauchamp armorials and the mother of John Dudley, did not succeed to them until 1526, on the death of her niece, an earlier date ought hardly to be attributed to this carving, considered as a Dudley memorial.⁴ On the other hand, the figures of saints, &c., found in juxtaposition with it, will not allow us to name a date very considerably subsequent. Indeed it is with some difficulty that I bring myself to admit the work to be later than the very commencement of the 16th century.

Our learned and valued member, W. S. Walford, Esq., to whom I am under obligations for several suggestions connected with this inquiry, thinks the group can be little, if any, later than the earlier part of the reign of Hen. VIII. Whether or not it belongs to the Dudleys, the resemblance it bears to their device seems so curious, that I trust I shall not be charged with impertinence for having brought together matters not proved to be relevant of Sussex history, especially

⁴ If such be really the case, a question may arise as to how so insignificant a building came to be decorated with the insignia of a noble family. Perhaps the builder of it had been of the number of their retainers.

as my notions, if ill founded, may still assist some more acute archæologist in arriving at a truer conclusion.

I need hardly say that the lion placed in the angle below these figures has no original connection with the house: it was the figure-head of a vessel stranded on the neighbouring coast during the last century.

In the interior of the house there are but few features demanding attention. On the mantel-piece of the kitchen is an angel, forming a corbel. The parlour ceiling points to a period when Sussex timber was cheap, and when massive proportions were mistaken for strength. On the bracket of the principal beam is a shield inscribed with the letters *i h c*, one of the well-known abbreviations of the name of *Ἰησοῦς*.

I think it would be easy to show, that at the period when this house was built, Alfriston was a place of greater importance than at present. Remote as it now seems from any considerable road, it was then probably on the usual route from the eastern towns of Sussex to the city of Chichester and the monastic establishments of West Sussex. Hence the Star Inn would become a "house of call" for pilgrims and the clergy who were wending their way to the tomb of St. Richard and the episcopal see. This, combined with the influence possessed here by the abbot of Battel and the prior of Michelham, would give somewhat of a religious character to the house, and suggest the adoption of ornaments which appear at first sight rather incongruous with the objects of a road-side Inn.

END OF VOL. IV.

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